

ST AUGUSTINE'S

Confessions translated

and

with some new and rare

allusions

by

William Waverley

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SAINT
AUGUSTINES

Augustinus Aurelius, Saint of Hippo
Confessions

TRANSLATED:

AND

With some Marginall
Notes illustrated.

WHEREIN

Divers Antiquities are ex-
plained; and the Marginall
Notes of a former Po-
pish Translation,
Answered.

By WILLIAM WATS,
D. D.

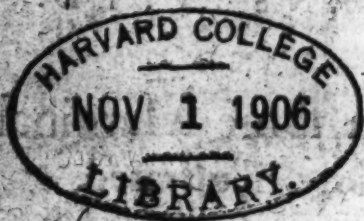
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Hayes fund

TO THE
 Noble & Religious
 Lady, the Lady *Elizabeth*
Hare, wife to the Honourable
 Sir *Iohn Hare*, of *Stow* in *Norff.*
 and daughter to the Right Ho-
 nourable *Thomas Lord Caven-*
try, Lord Keeper of the
 great Seal, &c.

Madam,



OW great advantage a native
 disposition to goodness is, we
 confess al; al know how much
 the goodnesse of the Stock
 confers towards the sweet-
 nesse of the Fruit. And
 yet have our Gardiners observed another ad-
 vancement of Nature: namely, how wonder-
 fully the goodnesse of the Stock is improved by
 the vertue of the Cyon: and that is the Graft,
 and not the Plant alone, which renders the
 fruit more pleasant. Besides that natural pre-

The Epistle

eminence therefore which your Ladiship hath,
to be honourably descended; you are (as the
world acknowledges,) vertuously descended
also (your Stock is good) and you are (which
the world knowes not) high born too, (your
Cyon is better) born from above, not only
once, but again; and I fully perswade my self,
that I have long since seen many unfained as-
surances of it. I must not tempt your Ladi-
ship with your own praises, (your neighbours
can speak forth them) and did I not know you
to be most discreetly humble, I might not have
said so much. Let me now be bold (good Ma-
dam) to adde one Counsell, after many Com-
mendations, (it shall be but such a one as I
know you most apt to take) give me leave to
put you in mind that all this, though the chief,
yet is it not the only Engagement your Ladi-
ship stands obliged to Almighty God in; but
that you owe him, above most women, a daily
thankfulnessse, both for his Domestick and
worldly blessings. God hath endowed your La-
diship with a most plentiful fortune: And
above that with a well-chosen and a toward-
ly Gentleman, one of the early hopes and pray-
ses of his Countrey; a yoake-fellow, equall to
your Selfe in blood, in youth, in personage:
And

Dedicatory.

And to increase all these blessings, hath God increast you both, with a sweete & numerous Issue; even so numerous, that your Olive branches are already round about your table: So that (blessed be God) neither of you both are likely to want Heyrs, nor they Inheritances. Thus hath God blest you as he did Joseph, Gen 45. 25. with blessings of the Heaven above, and blessings of the Deep beneath, blessings of the breasts, and of the womb. And what could God have done more to his Vine? And what remaines for your Ladiship to do but to cultivate, to prune, and to water both Stock and Cyon, with a religious industry? I know your Ladiship to be addicted as well to the Closet, as to the Church; to private Reading, as to publike Hearing: and I have heretofore served your Ladiship in both. In thankfulness therefore for your salt which I have eaten, I here make present of a most fit instrument for your Spirituall culture, St. Austins own Pruning knife, by which Hee cut off his sinnes by Repentance: an exercise for your Closet devotion; the devouteest piece of all St. Austin, and the usefullest: by which, Confession is made unto Salvation. Rom. 10. 10. I direct not this to your name by any chance, but

The Epistle Dedicatory.

upon deliberate choyce: for I presume to be so
privy to the way of your Religion, as to know,
that even this Subject of Private Confessions
will much please you. It wil, I hope, do your soul
good; Let it therefore, I beseech you Madam,
partake againe of your Goodnesse: Counte-
nance it, I intreate your Ladiship, with your
Name, and defend it with the priviledge of a
Ladies Honour, which no man (I hope) will
be so unmannerly as to violate. God blesse your
Honored Husband and Selfe, and Children,
and Kinred, and Family, with Grace in this
Life, and with Glory in the next. Thus prays
he affectionately, who still remaines,

Madam,

Your good Ladiships
obliged to honour
and serve you,

William Wats.

TO THE
Devout READER,



Or such a one I hope this Booke will make thee. I am forced for want of Paper, to turn an Epistle into an excuse. If thou here missest the Preface, know, that the swelling of the volume shut it out. This Translation I began for the exercise of my Lenten Devotions, but I quickly found it to exercise more then my Devotion : it exercised my skill, (all I had :) it exercised my Patience, it exercised my Friends too (for it is incomparably the hardest task that ever I yet undertook :) the Presse wrought as fast as I wrote, and I could not recall what was past. Some things therefore may be overslipt ; but neither many, I hope, nor materiall to Religion, nor so many by many, as those of the former Translation, which misled me, as much as helpt me, especially the two first Books, when I too much trusted him. Who was the Authour of it, I assuredly know not : some name *Parsons*, others name a *Knight*. That I somerimes touch him too tartly, was my zeal against him ; not

only for being so Arrantly, Partially Popish;
but for being so ignoſant to the holy Scriptures;
which he never honours with quoting in his
margin; every where debaſes, by advancing
the Romiſh Church above them. If finding
himſelf aggrieved, he ſhall in Print diſcover
himſelf againſt me; I hope this of mine will
one day come to a ſecond Impreſſion. Now in
the mean time I humbly deſire the Devout
Reader, to be a Courteous Cenſurer: & I pro-
miſe to ſend any man as many thanks, as he
ſhall fairly ſend me word of Faults eſcaped in
my Book. God bleſſe the Readers; and ſend
them all to make confeſſion unto Salvation:
So prays your *Chaplain* the Tranſlator.

W. W.

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*St. Augustines own Testimonie of this Book, taken
out of his Retractions.*



He thirteen books of my Confessions, both of my sins, and good deeds, do praise God, who is both just and good; and do excite, both the affection and understanding of man towards him. In the mean time, for as much as it concerneth me, they wrought this effect, when I wrote them; and so they yet do, when now I read them. What others finde thereby, let themselves observe; but thus I know, That they have much pleased, and do much please many of my brethren. From the first, through the whole tenth Book, they are written of my self; in the three Books following of the holy Scripture; from that place where it is said, In the beginning God made heaven and earth, till he speaks of the Rest of the Sabbath. In the fourth Book, when I confessed the misery of my minde, upon occasion of my friends death, saying, That my soul was as it were made one of both our soules, and that therefore it was perhaps, that I feared to die, lest so he might wholly die, whom I extreemly loved, this seemeth rather a light kinde of Declamation, then a serious Confession. Though yet howsoever, that impertinency be somewhat moderated, by the addition of this word perhaps, which then I used, and that also, which I said in the thirteenth book, The firmament was made between those superiour spirituall waters, and those inferiour corporall waters, was not consideratively enough expressed. But the truth hereof is extreemly hard to be discovered. This work beginneth thus, Great art thou O Lord, and highly worthy to be praised.

SAINT
AVGVSTINES
CONFESSIONS.

The First Booke.

CHAP. I.

*He admires Gods Majesty, and is inflamed
with a deep desire of praising him.*

I.



Great art Thou, (O Lord) & greatly
to be praised: great is thy power,
yea, and thy wisdom is infinite.
Psal. 147. 5. And man, who be-
ing a part of what thou hast cre-
ated, is desirous to praise thee;
this man bearing about his own
mortality with him, carrying about him a testimonie
of his own sin, (even this testimonie, That God re-
sisteth the proud. Iam. 4. 6) yet this Man, this part of
what thou hast created, is desirous to praise thee:
thou so sweetly provokest him that he even delighteth
to praise thee: For thou hast created us for thy selfe,
and our heart cannot be quieted till it may finde re-
pose in thee. Grant me (Lord) to know, and under-
stand what I ought first to do, whether call upon thee

or praise thee : and which ought to be first, to know thee, or call upon thee ?

But who can rightly call upon thee, if he is yet ignorant of thee ? for such as one way in stead of thee, call upon another. Or art thou rather (*first*) called upon, that thou mayest for come to be known ? But how shall they call on him, in whom they have not believed ? And how shall they believe without a Preacher ? Rom. 10. 14. And again, *They shall praise the Lord and fear after him. Mat. 23. 36.* For, *They that seek, shall finde ; and knocking, they shall praise him.* There will I seek, O Lord, calling upon thee ; and I will call upon thee, believing in thee : for thou hast been declared unto us, My faith (O Lord) calls upon thee, which thou hast given me, which thou hast infused into me ; even by the humanity of thy Son, and by the ministry of thy Preacher.

He means either the holy Ghost, or S. Ambrose, who converted him.

CHAP. II.

Man hath his being from God ; and that God is in Man, and Man in God.

AND how shall I call upon my God, my Lord, and God ? because that when I invoke him, I call him into my self ; and what place is there in me for my God so come into me by, whither God may come into me ; even that G O D that made Heaven and Earth ? Is it so, my Lord God ? Is there any thing in me capable of thee ? Nay, can both Heaven and Earth which thou hast made, and in which thou hast made me, in any wise contain thee ?

Or

2. Or else because whatsoever *It*, could not exist without thee, must it follow thereupon, that whatsoever bath being, is indued with a capability of thee: since therefore I also am somewhat, how do I invite thee to come into me, who could not be, unless thou wert (*first*) in me? For I am not now in Hell; and yet thou art there: For if I go down into Hell, thou art there also. *Psal. 132. 8.* I should therefore not be, O God, yea I should have no being at all, unless thou wert in me: or rather I could not be, unless I had my being in thee; of whom, and through whom, and to whom are all things, *Rom. 11. 36.* Even so it is Lord, even so. Wherefore (then) do I invoke thee, seeing I am already in thee? or whence canst thou come into me? For whither shall I go? beyond Heaven and Earth, that from thence my God may come unto me, who hath said, *The heaven and earth do I fill.* *Jer. 23. 24.*

CHAP. III.

God is wholly every where, and is not by parts contained by the Creature.

1. **D**O therefore the heaven and earth contain thee, seeing thou fillest them? or dost thou fill them, and there yet remains an overplus of thee, because they are not able to comprehend thee? If so, into what dost thou poure whatsoever remaineth of thee after heaven and earth are filled? Hast thou need to be contained by something, thou who containest all things? seeing that what thou fillest, by containing them thou fillest? for those vessels which are full

of thee, * add no stability to thee; for were they broken, thou art not shed out: and when thou art shed out upon us, thou art not spilt, but thou raisest us up; thou art thou scattered, but thou gatherest up us: but thou who fillest all, with thy whole self, dost thou fill them all?

2. Or because all things cannot contain all of thee, do they receive a part of thee; and do all at once receive the same part of thee? or severall capacities severall parts; and greater things, greater parts; and lesse, lesser? Is therefore one part of thee greater, or another lesser? or art thou All every where, and nothing contains thee wholly?

As vessels do so water, which they preserve from spilling.

CHAP. IIII.

An admirable description of Gods Attributes.

WHAT art thou therefore, O my GOD? What, but the Lord God? For who is God but the Lord? or who hath any strength besides our God? Psal. 18. 31. Oh thou Supreme, most excellent, most mighty, most omnipotent, most mercifull and most just; most secret and most present; most beautifull and most strong; constant, and incomprehensible; immutable, yet changing all things; never new, and never old; renewing all things, and insensibly bringing proud men into decay; ever active, and ever quiet; gathering together, yet never wanting; upholding, filling, and protecting; creating, nourishing, and perfecting all things; still seeking, although thou standest in need of nothing.

2. Thou lovest, yet art not transported; art jealous.

lous, but without fear; thou doest repent, but not grieve; art angry, but coole still. Thy works thou changeſt, but not thy counsell; takeſt what thou findeſt, never loſeſt ought. Thou art never needy, yet glau of gain; never covetous, yet exacteſt advantage. Thou haſt * ſuperabundance of all things, yet art ſtill owing; and who hath any thing which is not thine? Thou payeſt debts, yet oweſt nothing; forgiveſt debts, yet loſeſt nothing. And what ſhall we ſay, my God, my life, my holy delight? or what can any man ſay when he ſpeaks of thee? And woe to them that ſpeak nothing in thy praiſe, ſeeing thoſe that ſpeak moſt, are too dumb in it.

* Supererogatur tibi: which the Romiſh Catholike tranſlates thus, By our Supererogation thou becommest our debtor: And notes in the margin, God maketh us able to do works of Supererogation: No ſuch matter: for the words are, Supererogatur tibi, & debes, (not ut debeas, as they read it.) Besides, the Text hath a comma after tibi, and cannot therefore be all put into one ſentence. Laſtly, the Father here ſpeaketh of Gods Attributes, of which Supererogation is none, I trow. See the Preface.

CHAP. V.

He prayes for forgivenesse of ſins, and the love of God.

1. **W**HO ſhall ſo mediate for me, that I may re-
poſe in thee? Who ſhall procure thee to en-
ter into my heart; and ſo to inebriate it, that I may
forget my own evils, and embrace thee, my only
good? What art thou to me? let me finde grace to
ſpeak to thee. What am I to thee, that thou ſhouldeſt
command me to love thee, and be angry with me,
yea, and threaten me with great miſchiefs, unleſſe I do
love thee? Is it to be thought a ſmall miſery in it ſelf,

not

Not to love thee? Wot is me! answer me for thy mercies sake, O Lord my God, what thou art unto me: Say unto my soul, I am thy salvation. Psal. 34. 3. speak out, that I may hear thee. Behold, the eyes of my heart are before thee O Lord; open them, and say unto my soul, I am thy salvation, I will run after that voice, and take hold of thee. Hide not thy face from me, that whether I die, or not die, I may see it.

2 My souls house is too streight for thee to come into: let it be enlarged by thee: 'tis ruinous, but do thou repair it. There be many things in it (I both confesse and know) which may offend thine eyes, but who can cleanse it? or to whom but thee shall I cry? Cleanse me O Lord from my secret sins, Psal. 19. 12. and from strange sins deliver thy servant; I believed, and therefore I will speak. Psal. 116. Thou knowest, O Lord, that I have confessed my sins against mine own selfe, O my God; and thou forgavest the iniquity of my heart I will not plead with thee. Jer 2. 29. who art Truth: and I will not deceive my self, lest mine iniquitie be a false witnessse to it self. I will not therefore plead with thee: For, if thou (Lord) shouldest be extreame to mark what is done amiss, O Lord, who may abide it? Psal. 130. 3.

CHAP. VI.

That he hath received all blessings from God; and how he hath been preserved by him.

1. YET suffer me to plead before thy Mercy seat, even me who am but dust and asher: Gen. 18. 27. once again let me speak, seeing it is thy mercy to

From hence to the end of this first Book, be most divine meditations upon Gods providence.

which

which I addresse my speech, and not man, who is a mocker. Yet even thou perhaps doest smile at me, but turning, thou wilt pitty me. What is it that I would say, O Lord my God, but even this; that I know not whence I came hither; into this, a dying life (shall I call it) or a living death rather? And then did the comforts of thy mercies take me up, as I have heard it of the parents of my flesh, out of whom, and in whom thou sometimes didst for me, for I my self cannot remember it. The comfort therefore of a womans milk did then entertaine me: yet did neither my mother nor nurses fill their own breasts; but thou, O Lord, didst by them afford a nourishment fit for my infancie, even according to thine own institution, and those riches of thine, reaching to the root of all things. Thou also ingraftedst in me a desire to suck no more than thou suppliedst them withall, and in my Nurses, to afford me what thou gavest them: for they were willing to dispense unto me with proportion, what thou suppliedst them with in abundance. For it was a * blessing to them, that I received this blessing from them; which yet was rather by them, than from them. For all good things proceed from thee, O God, and from my God commeth all my * healthfulness. And so much I observed afterwards, when thou didst cry unto me by those instincts of nature which thou induedst me withall, both inwardly and outwardly. For then first knew I how to suck; and to be contented with what did please me, and to cry at nothing so much as what offended my flesh. Afterwards I began a little to laugh; first sleeping, and then waking: for thus much was told me of my self,

* He alludes to that in 1 Tim. 2. 15. She shall be saved in child bearing. * Salus universa.

and I easily believed it, for that we see other Infants do so too. For these things of my self I remember not.

1. And behold, by little and little I came on to perceive where I was; and I had the will to signifie what I would have, to those that should help me to it: but I could not yet clearly enough expresse my desires to them; for these were within me, and they without me; nor could the ghesse of their senses dive into my meaning. Thereupon would I flutter with my limbes, and sputter out some words, making some other few signes, as well as I could; but could not get my self to be understood by them: and when people obeyed me not, either for that they understood me not, or lest what I desired should hurt me; then how would I wrangle at those elder servants that were to tend me, and the children that did not aptly humour me, and I thought to revenge my self upon them all, with crying. And this is, as I have learn'd, the fashion of all children, (that I could heare of:) and such an one was I, as those who brought me up told me; although they may be said not to know so much, rather than to know it. And now behold, my infancie is dead long ago, yet I live still. But thou, O Lord, who both livest for ever, and in whom nothing dies, (because that before the foundations of the World, and before every thing else, that can be said to be *Before*; thou art both God and Lord of all which thy selfe hath created; and in whose presence are the certaine causes of all uncertaine things, and the immutable patternes of all things mutable, with whom doe live the eternall reasons of all these contingent chance medleyes, for which we can give no reason) tell (I pray thee O God) unto me thy suppliant: Thou who art mercifull, tell me who am miserable;

scorable; did my infancie succeed to any other age of mine that was dead before; even to that which perhaps I past in my mothers belly? for something have I heard of that too, and my self have seene women with great bellies.

3. What also passed before that age, O God my delight? was I any where, or any body? for I have none to tell me thus much: neither could my Father and Mother, nor the experience of others, nor yet mine own memorie. Dost thou laugh at me for enquiring these things, who commandest me to praise and to confesse to thee for what I know? I confesse unto thee, O Lord of heaven and earth, and I sing praises unto thee for my first being and infancie, which I have no memory of: and thou hast given leave to Man, by others to conjecture of himself, and upon the credit of women to believe many things that concerne himself. For even then had I life and being, & towards the end of mine infancie, I sought for some significations to expresse my meaning by unto others. Whence could such a living creature come, but from thee, O Lord? or hath any man the skill to frame himself? or is any veine of ours, by which being and life runnes into us, derived from any originall, but thy workmanship, O Lord, to whom *Being* and *Living* are not severall things, because both to *Be* and to *Live* in the highest degree, is of thy very essence. For *Thou art the highest, and thou art not changed*; neither is this present day spent in thee, although it be brought to an end in thee; because even all these have a fixt Being in thee; nor could have their wayes of passing on, unlesse thou upheldest them. And because thy yeers fail not, Psal. 102. 27. thy yeers are but this very day. And how many soever ours, or our Fathers
dayes

dayes have been, they have all passed by this one day of *today*; and from that day have they received their measures and manners of being; and those to come shall also pass away, and so also receive their measures and varieties of being's. But thou art the same still, and all *to morrowes*, and so forward, and all *yesterdayes* and so backward, thou shalt make present in this day of thine; yea, and hast made present. What concerns it me? If any understand not this, let him rejoyce notwithstanding; saying, *what is this mysterie?* Let him so also rejoyce, and rather love to finde, in not finding it out, than by finding it, not to finde thee with it.

CHAP. VII.

That even his Infancie was subject to sinne.

I. **H**Earken to me, O God! Wee to the sinnes of men: Yea when man sayes thus, thou hast mercie upon him; because him thou hast created, but sinne in him thou hast not made. Who shall bring to my remembrance the sinne of my infancie? for in thy sight *no man be clean from his sin*; Job 25. 3. no not an Infans of a day old. Who will put me in mind of this? any such a little one, in whom I now observe, what of my selfe I remembered not? Wherein did I then sinne? in that I cried too fiercely after the pap? for if I should do so at these yeers, crying, (though not to suck again, but after such food as is convenient for my growth) I should most justly be laugh'd at, and reprehended for it. Even then therefore did I something worthily to be blamed: but for that I could not understand such as reprehended me, therefore would neither custome nor reason suffer me to be corrected. For

as we grow towards discretion, we foot up and cast out such childishnesse: nor have I scene any man (knowing what he doth) who purging out bad things, casts the good away also. But whether may this passe for good, (considering the time) by crying to desire what would have hurt me being given; and by being so suddenly forward as people that did not humour me; even as young and old, and mine own parents too; yea, and fighting (as fiercely as I could) as divers other discreeter persons, that did not *Cockney* me in every thing; and because they obeyed not my commands, having had been hurtfull to me to have been obeyed. So that it is not the minde of Infants that is harmlesse, but the weaknesse of their childish members. I my selfe have scene and observed a little* Baby to be already jealous; and before it could speak, what an angry and a bitter look it would cast at another childe that suckt away it's milke from it.

2 Who knows not this? That Mothers and Nurses professe indeed to exiate these things, by know not what remedies. But may this passe for innocencie, that a Baby full fed, should not endure a poore foster-childe to share with him in a fountaine of milke plentifully and freshly flowing, though destitute of succour, and having but that only nourishment to sustaine it's poore life withall? But these childishnesses are with pleasure borne withall: not because they be in themselves either none, or small faults; but for that they will vanish with age: Which though they may in this age be allowed of; yet are they with no patience to be indured in an elder body. Thon therefore, O Lord my God, who hast

* How early malicious envy comes to expresse it self.

given both life and body, to the Infant; which as we see, thou hast furnished with senses, compacted with limbes, beautified with shape, and for his generall good and safetie, hast armed all the endeavours of the whole Creature: even thou commandest me to praise thee for these things, and to *confesse and sing unto thy Name, O thou most high!* Psal. 102. 1. Because thou art a God omnipotent and good, although thou hadst done no more but these things which none else can do, but thou alone, from whom all proportion floweth; O thou most beautifull, which fashionest all, and after thine own method disposest all.

3. This Age therefore of my life, O Lord, of which I remember not any passages; concerning which I must give credit to others relation, which (notwithstanding) that I have passed, as I conjecture by other Infants (although these tokens may very strongly assure my conjecture) it irkes me to reckon unto the rest of that life which I leade in this world; seeing that in regard of the darknesse of my forgetfulness of it, it is like that part which I passed in my Mothers wombe. Now, if I were shapen in iniquitie, and in sinne conceived by my Mother, Psal. 51. 5. where, I beseech thee, O my God, in what place, Lord, was (I thy servant) where and when was I innocent? But behold I now passe by that age (for what have I to do with it?) whereof I can call nothing at all to memorie.

CHAP. VIII.

A description of his childhood.

1. **G**rowing on from the state of Infancie, came I not into my childhood; or rather came not that

that into me, and succeeded unto my infancie; nor yet did my infancie depart; for whether went it? though now it were no more: for an infant I was no longer, that could not speake; seeing now I began to prove a pretty prasing boy. And this I well remember, and I afterwards observed, how I first learn'd to speake. For my elders did not teach me this abilitie, by giving of me words in any certaine order of teaching, (as they did letters afterwards) but by that minde which thou my God gavest me, I my self with gruntings, varieties of voyces, and various motions of my body, strove to expresse the conceits of mine own heart, that my desire might be obeyed; but could not bring it out, either what I would have, or to whom I desired. Then I settled in my memory when they named any thing; and when at that name they moved their bodies towards that thing, I observed it, and gathered thereby, that that word which they then pronounced, was the very name of the thing which they shewed me.

3. And that they meant this (*or that*) thing, was discovered to me by the motion of their bodies, even by that naturall language (as it were) of all nations; which expressed by the countenance and cast of the eye, by the action of other parts, and the sound of the voice; discovers the affections of the mind, either to desire, enjoy, refuse; or to do any thing. And thus words in divers sentences, set in their due places, and heard often over, I by little and little collected, of what things they were the signes; and having broken my mouth to the pronounciation of them, I by them expressed mine owne purposes. Thus (with those whom I conversed withall) did I communicate the expressions of mine owne desires; and ventured thereby

shew'd upon the troublesome Societie of humane
businesses, depending all this while upon the autho-
ritie of my parents, and being at the beck of my
Elders.

CHAP. IX.

*The hatred that children beare to learning, and
their love to playing.*

O God, my God! what miseries and what
mockeries did I finde in that age; when as
being yet a Boy, obedience to my Teachers was pro-
pounded unto me, as the means to live by another day;
that in this world I might grow famous, and prove
excellent in Tongue-sciences, which should get me re-
putation amongst men, and deceitfull riches? There-
upon was I set to Schoole, to get Learning; whereby
little knew I (wretch that I was) what profit might
be obtained; and yet if I proved trewantly at my
Book, I was presently beaten. For this discipline was
commended by our Ancestours; and divers passing
the same course before our times, had chalked these
troublesome ways out unto us, by which we were con-
strained to follow them; multiplying by this means
both labour and sorrow to the finnes of Adam.

We (little ones) observed, O Lord, how cer-
tain men would pray unto thee; and we learn'd of
them; thinking thee (as farre as we could apprehend)
to be some great thing; who wert able (and
yet not appare to our senses) both to heare and help
us. For being yet a Boy, I began to pray unto thee,
(my aide and refuge) and I even brake the strings of
my tongue, in praying to thee; and being but yet a
little one, I prayed to thee with no small devotion,
that

that I might not be beaten at Schoole. And when thou heardest not (which yet was not to be accounted folly in me) my corrections Psal. 22 2. (which I then esteemed my greatest and most grievous affliction) were made sport at by my elders, yea, and by mine owne parents, who wilke no hurt at all unto me. Is there any man. O Lord, of so great a spirit, cleaving to thee with so strong an affection; is there any man, I say. (for even a stupidiry may other-whiles do as much) who by devoutly applying himself unto thee, is so resolutely affected, that he can think so slightly of those racks and strappadoes, and such variety of torments, (for the avoiding whereof men pray unto thee with so much feare all the world over) that he can make sport at those who most bitterly fear them; as our parents laugh at those torments, which we schoole-boyes suffer from our Masters? For we were no lesse affraid of the Rod, nor did we lesse earnestly pray to thee for the scaping of it, than others did for their tortures. And yet for all our feares, we too often played the Trewants; either in writing, or reading, or thinking upon our lessons, lesse than was required of us.

3. For we wanted not (O Lord) either memory or capacity, (of which considering our age, thou pleasedst to bestow enough upon us) but our miade was all upon playing; for which we were beaten, even by those Masters, who had done as much themselves. But elder folke *Idleness*, must (forsooth) be called *Businesse*, and when children doe the like, the same men must punish them; and yet no man punishes either childrens punishments, or mens follies, or either. But perhaps some indifferent Judge might account me to be justly beaten, for playing at Ball.

being yet a Boy, because by that sport I was hindered in my Learning, by which, when I came to be a man, I was to play the foole more unbeseemingly; as my Master, who now beat me, often did; who if in any trifling Question he were foyled by another Schoolemaster, he was presently more racked with choler and envy at him, than I was, when at a Match at Tennis ball, I lost the Game to my play-fellow.

CHAP. X.

How for his play he neglected his parents commandments.

1. **A**ND yet I offended, O Lord God! thou disposer and Creator of all naturall things, only of sinnes not the ordainer. I sinned, O Lord my God! in doing contrary to the commandments of my parents, and of those Masters: for I might afterwards have made good use of my learning, which they were desirous I should obtaine; whatsoever purpose they had in it. For I disobeyed them not out of desire of choosing better courses; but all out of a desire to play: aspiring to be Captain at all sports, and to have mine eares tickled with fained Fables, to make them such the more glowingly: the like desperate curiositie also sparkling through mine eyes, after the shewes and playes frequented by my elders: the Authors whereof are esteemed to gaine so much honour by it, that almost all the spectators with the like to their owne children; whom for all that they suffer to be beaten, if by such Stageplayes they be hindered from their studies, by which they desire them to arrive one day to the abilitie of making the like. Look down upon these things mercifully, O Lord, and deliver us that

now

now call upon thee: deliver also those that do not yet call upon thee; that they may call upon thee, and thou maist deliver them.

C H A P. XI.

How he fell sick, and how recovering, his Baptisme was deferred.

1. I Had heard (being yet a Boy) of eternall life promised unto us through the humilitie of thy Sonne our Lord God, descending even to our pride: And I was then signed with the signe of his Crosse, * and was seasoned with his salt, so soone as I came out of my Mothers wombe, who greatly trusted in thee. Thou sawest, O Lord, when being yet a Boy, and was one day taken with a pain in the stomacke, I suddainly fell into a Fit, very like to die. Thou sawest, O my God, (for thou wert my keeper) with what earnestnesse of minde, and with what faith, I importuned the piety both of mine owne Mother, and of thy Church, the Mother of us all; for the Baptisme of thy Christ, my Lord God. Whereupon the Mother of my flesh being much perplexed, (for that in a chaste heart, and faith in thee, the most lovingly even travailed in birth, Gal. 4. 19. of my eternall salvation,) did hasten with great care to procure me to be initiated and washed with thy wholesome Sacraments, (I first confessing thee, O Lord Jesus, * for the remission of sins) but that I presently

* This was the practise of the Primitive times: by which religious parents devoted their children unto Christ, long before their Baptisme; which in those dayes was deferred till they were able to answer for themselves. This confession was done by repeating of the Creed, as we doe before Baptisme at this day.

recovered upon it. Upon my recovery was my cleansing deferred: as if it were necessary that I should yet be more defiled, if I lived longer: because (forsooth) ^b the guilt contracted by the filth of sinne, were both greater and more dangerous after Baptisme, than before.

2 Thus did I then beleewe, as also my Mother, & the whole House, except my Father only; who did not for all this overthrow the power of my Mothers piety in me, to the hindrance of my beleewing in Christ, although himself had not yet beleewed in him. For she by all meanes endeavoured, that thou my God shouldst be my Father, rather then he. And herein didst thou assist her to overcome her Husband, to whom (though the better of the two) she continued her service; wherein she principally served thee, who commandest her to doe so. I beseech thee, O my God, (for I would gladly know, if thou wert pleased to tell me) to what purpose was my Baptisme then deferred; whether it were more for my good that the reynes of sinne were (as it were) then enlarged, or that they should not have been enlarged at all: whence therefore comes it, that my cares are on all sides so beaten with this noise; * *Let him alone, let*

^b *This was the reason why Baptisme was deferred, which Saint Augustine here findes fault withall. God would not suffer our Father to be baptized in his sickness: for then had the Church lost a most glorious Minister; for by the Canons of the Church no man could be a Bishop, who had been baptized in his bed: because such an one seemed to be baptized rather out of necessity, than faith; which would be scandalous to a Bishop.*

* *The Ancients deferred Baptisme, either till age, when the heats of sinne were well over, or till marriage, till they had got a remedy against it; and then did they wash away all their former sins together. And till then they thought they might take liberty; seeing those sinnes were to be washed away, and so not so by imputed, Saint Augustine misliketh this.*

him doe what he will; for he is not yet baptiz'd: whereas upon any doubt of bodily health, we doe not say, let him be more dangerously wounded, for he is not yet cured? How much better had it been for me to have been speedily cured, that by my friends diligence and my own, so much might have bin wrought in me, that my soul having received health, might have been safe under thy protection, who hast given it? This verily had been the better course. But how many, and what violent waves of temptation did seem to threaten me after my childhood, these my Mother full well knew; and desired to commit, both those temptations by which I was afterward to be new moulded; as me also, the worke it selfe, unto thy disposing.

CHAP. XII.

*He is forced to his Booke: which God
turned to good purpose.*

BUT in this my childhood (wherein there was lesse feare of me then in my youth) I loved not my Booke, and I hated to be forced to it: yet was I held to it notwithstanding; wherein they did very well for me; but I did not well for my selfe: for I would never have taken my learning, had I not been constrained to it. For no man does well against his will, though that which he does be good. Nor did they that forced me to it, very well; but it was thou, my God, that didst the good to me. For they that held me to my learning, did not understand to what I would apply it, unlesse to satiate the unsatiable desires of a rich beggery, and a dishonourable glory.

1. But thou, before whom the very haire of our heads

are numbered, *Matth. 10. 30.* didst convert the common error of them all who pressed me to learning, to mine owne benefit; and my error, who would not learn, didst thou make use of for my punishment; of which I being then so little a Boy, and so great a sinner, was not unworthy. Thus by their meanes who did not well by me, didst thou well for me; and upon me who was a sinner, thou inflictedst a deserved punishment. For thou hast appointed it, and so it proves, *[Every mans inordinate affection shall be his owne affliction.]*

CHAP. XIII.

with what studies he was chiefly delighted.

1. **B**UT what was the reason why of a Childe I should so naturally hate the *Greeke tongue* when it was taught me, I cannot yet understand. *Latine* I loved very well: not that part which our first Masters enter us in, but that which the Gramarians teach us. For those first rudiments, to reade, to write, and Cipher, I accounted no lesse painefull and troublesome, than the *Greeke*. But whence should this proceed, but from the sinfulness and vanity of this life? For I was but flesh, a winde that passeth away and cometh not againe, *Psal. 78. 39.* For those first rudiments were better, because more certaine (seeing by them, that skill was, and is wrought in me, that I am able to reade what I finde written, and of my selfe to write what I will) than these latter; by which I was inforced to commit to memorie the wandrings of I know not what *Aneas*, while I forgate mine owne: and to bewaile dead *Dido*, because she killed her selfe for love; when in the meane time (wretch that I was) I
with

with dry eyes endured my selfe then dying towards thee, O God my life ! For what can be more miserable then a wretch that pities not himselfe ; one bemoaning *Didoes* death, caused by loving of *Aeneas*, and yet not lamenting his owne death, caused by not loving of thee ?

2. O God, thou light of my heart, thou bread of the internall mouth of my soule, and thou firmest knot, marrying my soule and the bosome of my thoughts together, I did not love thee, and I committed fornication against thee, while in the meane time every one applauded me with *well done, well done*. But the love of this world is fornication against God, I am. 4.4. which so applauds and encourages a spirituall fornicator, that it is even a shame for a man to be otherwise. But I bemoan'd not all this ; but dead *Dido* I bewailed, that kill'd herselfe by falling upon the Sword : I my selfe following these lower creatures of thine, forsaking thee ; and my selfe being earth, hastening to the earth. But if I were forbidden to reade these toyes, how sorry would I be, for that I might not reade that which would make me sorry. Such madneses were esteemed to be more commendable and fluent learning, then the learning to write and reade.

3. But let my God now cry unto my soule, and let thy truth say unto me, It is not so, it is not so ; that first kinde of learning was farre better ; for behold I am readier to forget the wandrings of *Aeneas*, & all such toyes, then I am to write & reade. True it is, that there are Curtaines at the entrance of Grammar-schools ; but they signifie not so much the Cloth of State to privacie, as serve for a blinde to the follies committed behinde them. Let not these Masters now cry

out upon me, whom now I am out of feare of; whilst I confesse to thee my God, what my soul delights in; and rest contented with the reprehension of mine owne evill wayes, that I may love thy good ones. Let not those buyers or sellers of Grammar exclaime upon me, for that if I aske them, whether that of the Poet be true, that *Aneas* ever came to *Carthage*; the unlearned will answer, They know not; and the learned will deny it to be true.

4. But if I aske them with what letters *Aneas* name is written, every one that hath but learned so farre, will pitch upon one truth, according to the agreement and will, whereby men at first made Rules for those Characters. If I should aske againe, which of the two would be most incommodious to the life of man to forget; to write and reade, or, these Poeticall fictions? who sees not what any man would answer, that had not quite forgotten himselfe? I offended therefore being but a Boy, when in my affection I preferred those vaine studies to these more profitable; or rather indeed, I utterly hated these, and was in love with those. But then, *One and one makes two, and two and two makes foure*, was a harsh Song to me; but *The wooden Horse full of armed men, and the burning of Troy, and the Ghost of Cræusa*, was a most delightfull spectacle of vanity.

CHAP. XIII.

Of the Greeke and Latine tongues.

1. **B**ut why then did I hate the Greeke Grammarians, that chant of such things? For *Homer* himselfe was skilfull in contriving such fictions, and is most delightfully wanton; but yet very harsh to me,

me, being a schoole boy, I beleeye that *Virgil* is no lesse to *Grecian* children when they be compelled to learne him, as I was to learne *Homer*; for to say troth, the difficulty of learning a strange language, did sprinkle as it were with gall, all the pleasures of those fabulous narrations. For I understood not a word of it, yet they vehemently pressed me, and with most cruell threatnings and punishments, to make me understand it. The time was also (when I was an infant) that I knew not a word of Latine; yet by marking, I gate that without any feare or tormenting, even by my nurses prailings to me, and the pretty tales of those that laught upon me, and the sports of those that plaid with me.

2. So much verily I learnt without any painfull burthen to me, of those that urged me, for that mine own heart put me to it to bring out mine owne conceptions. Which I could never have done, had I not learned divers words, not of those that taught me, but of them that talkt familiarly to me, in whose hearing I also brought forth whatsoever I had conceived. Hereby it clearly appeares that a free curiosity hath more force in childrens learning of languages, then a frightfull enforcement can have. But the unsetlednesse of that freedome, this inforcement restraines; Thy Lawes, O God, yea, Thy Lawes, even from the school-masters *Ferula*, to the martyrs *Trialls*, being able to temper wholesome and bitter together; calling us back by that meanes unto thy selfe, even from that infectious sweetnesse, which at first allured us to fall away from Thee.

CHAP. XV.

His Prayer to God.

HEAR my prayer O Lord, let not my soule faint under thy correction: nor let me faint in confessing unto thee thine owne mercies, by which thou hast drawne me out of all mine owne most wicked courses, that thy self mightest from henceforward grow sweet unto me, beyond all those allurements which heretofore I followed; and that I might most intirely love thee, and lay hold upon thy hand with all the powers of my heart, that thou mightest finally draw me out of all danger of temptation.

2. For behold, O Lord my King: whatsoever good I have learned, being a boy, unto thy service let it be all directed, yea, whatsoever I speake, or write, or reade, or number, let all serve thee. For when I learned vaine things, thou didst discipline me: and in those vanities thou forgavest the finfulness of my delight in them. In those studies I learned many usefull words, but those might have been also learned in studies not so vaine: which is (I confesse) the safest way for children to be trained up in.

CHAP. XVI.

Against lascivious fables.

BUt woe unto thee, O thou Torrent of humane custome, who shall stop the course of thee? when wilt thou be dry? how long wilt thou continue tumbling the sons of Eve into that huge and hideous Ocean, which they very hardly passe, who

who are well shipped? Do I not read in thee of *Jupiter* sometimes *thundering*, and sometime *adulterating*? but verily both these could not one person do: but this is feined, that he might have authority to imitate true-acted Adultery; false thunder the meanwhile playing the bawd to him. Yet which of our * grave Masters can with any patience hear a man that should in his Schoole cry out, saying, *Homer* feined these, and ascribed mens faults unto the gods; but I had rather he had derived divine excellencies upon us. But more truly is it said, that *Homer* feined these things indeed: and that by his attributing divine Excellencies to most wicked mortals, crimes might not be accounted crimes; so that whosoever shall commit the like, seems not therein to imitate desperate people, but some heavenly Deities.

2. This notwithstanding, O thou Hellish Torrent, are the sons of men cast into thee with rewards propounded to allure children to learn these fables; and a great solemnity is made of it, when 'tis pleaded for openly in the assemblies, and in the sight of the lawes, which allow stipends to the Teachers over and above the reward unto the scholars: yet (O Torrent) thou art still beating upon my rocks, roaring out, and crying, *Here are fine words to be learned, here Eloquence is attained, eloquence so necessary to perswade to*

* *Penulatorum Magistrorum: cloaks masters, or gowned men.* For *Penula* or *Toga*, the gown or long cloak, (which were both one) was the habit of Philosophers, and graver teachers. The Father here quips at their affected gravity: as the Philosophers on the other side derided the habit of the Christians, which they called *pallium*; a loose habit buttoned under the chin. Upon which *Tertullian* wrote his incomparable booke *De Pallio*; which so tortures our Critick; to understand.

businessse, and with advantage to expresse sentences. But for all this should we never so pathetically have understood these words, *The golden showre, The lappe, The deceit, The temple of heaven*, and such others written in the same place; had not Terence withall brought a lewd young man upon the stage, propounding *Jupiter* to himself for an example of his adultery; whilst he beholds a certain picture on the wall, wherein was set out to the life, the story of *Jupiter* raining a golden showre into *Danaes* lappe, deceiving the simple maiden by that means. See how that young man provoked himself to lust, as if he had had a celestiall authority for it.

3. But what God do I imitate, saith he? even that God, who with a mighty thunder shakes the very Arches of heaven: may not I, then frail flesh and blood do as much? But I for my part did as much unprovoked, yea and gladly too. Plainly; by this filthy matter, are not these words so much the more commodiously learned, as by these words, is this filthy businessse learned to be the more confidently committed. I blame not the words, which, of themselves are like vessels, choyce and precious; but that wine of error which is in them, drunk to us by our intoxicated Teachers. If we refused to pledge them, we were beaten: nor had we liberty to appeal unto any sober Judges. All this, notwithstanding, O my God, I (in whose presence I now with security remember this) did willingly learn these things; and unhappy I, was for this accounted a youth of much towardlinesse.

CHAP. XVII.

The way of exercising youth in repeating and varying of verses.

1. Give me leave, O my God, to tell thee something; and that of mine own wit, which was thy gift, and what dotages I spent it upon. My Master put a taske upon me, (troublesome enough to my soul) and that upon terms of reward of commendations, or fear of shame and whipping: namely, That I should declaime upon those words of *Juno*, expressing both her anger and sorrow, that *shee could not keep off the Trojane King from going into Italie*: which words I had heard that *Juno* never uttered; yet were we enforced to imitate the passages of these poetickall fictions; and to *varie* that into *Prose*, which the Poet had expressed in *verse*. And he declaimed with most applause, in whose action (according to the dignity of the person represented) there appeared an affection neereſt to anger or grief, set out with words most agreeable to the matter.

2. But to what end was this, O my true life, my God? why was my declamation more applauded then so many others of mine own age and forme? Was not all this meer smoke and winde? and could no other subject be found to exercise my wit & tongue in? Thy praises O Lord, thy praises, might have stayed the tender sprig of my heart upon the prop of thy Scriptures, that it might not have been cropt off by these empty vanities, to be catcht up as a prey by those flying spirits. For by more wayes then one is there sacrifice offered to the collapsed Angels.

CHAP. XVIII.

That men care more to observe the Rules of Grammar, than the Lawes of God.

1. **B**Ut what wonder was it, if I were thus carried towards vanity, and estranged from thee, O my God; when as such men were propounded to me to imitate, who should they deliver any of their owne Acts (though not evill) with any Barbarisme or Solocisme, they were utterly dasht out of countenance: but should they make a copious, and neat Oration of their owne lusts, in a round and well followed stile; would take a pride to be applauded for it. These things thou seest, O Lord, long-suffering, and of much mercy and truth, and thou keepest silence; but wilt thou be silent for ever? and forbear to draw out of this horrible pit, that soule that seekes after thee, and that thirsts after thy pleasures? *whose heart saith unto thee, I have sought thy face, and thy face Lord will I seek.* Psal. 27. 9. For I had straggled farre away from thy countenance in the mistinefle of my affections.

2. For we neither goe nor returne, from, or to thee, upon our feet, or by distance of spaces: or did that younger brother seek Post-horses, or Waggon, or ships, flye away with visible wings, or take his journey by the motion of his hams, that living in a far Country, he might prodigally waste that portion w^{ch} thou hadst given him at his departure? Luke 15. A sweet Father, because thou gavest him his portion: yet farre sweeter to the poore wretch returning: so that we wander from thee in a voluptuous affection; that is to say, a darkned one; and such that is, which is farre from thy countenance. Behold, O Lord God, and patiently behold, as thou still doest, how diligently the

the sonnes of men observe the Rules of letters and syllables received from former speakers; and yet regard not the eternall covenants of everlasting salvation, received from thy selfe. Insomuch, that he who either holds or teaches the ancient Rules of pronunciation, if contrary to Grammar, he shall pronounce *omment*, (that is a man) without *H* in the first syllable; he shall displease *men* more, than if against thy Rules he should hate a *man*. As if any man should thinke his enemy more pernicious to him, then that hatred of his owne is; whereby he is set on against him; or imagine that he does worse skath to another man by persecuting him, then he does to his owne heart, by contriving enmity against him.

3. And certainly there is no other inward knowledge of Letters but this (Law of nature) written in the conscience, *Not to do to another, what himself would not suffer*. Mat. 7. 11. How secret art thou, O thou opely great God! which dwellest in the highest, and in silence, with an untired destiny, dispersing blindnesses for punishments upon unlawfull desires. When a man affects the credit of Eloquence, standing before a mortal Iudge, a multitude of mortals standing about him, inveighing against his Adversary with his fiercest hatred, he takes heed most warchfully, that his tongue trips not before men: but takes no heed at all, lest through the fury of his spirit he should destroy a man out of the societie of men.

CHAP. XIX.

How he was more carefull to avoid barbarisme of speech, than corruption of manners.

1. **I**N the Road-way of these Customes lay I, wretched Boy, and upon that Stage I play'd my

nes; where I more feared to commit a *barbarisme* in speaking, than I tooke care when I committed any, not to envie those that committed none. All this I declare and confesse to thee, my God, namely in what things I was by them applauded: to please whom I then accounted equal to living honestly. For I then discerned not that whirl-pool of filthinesse whereinto I was cast from thine eyes. For in thine eyes, what was more filthy then I? where also I displeased such as my selfe; with innumerable lyes deceiving both my Tutor, and Masters, and Parents: all for love of play, out of a desire to see toyes, and of imitating them with a ridiculous unrestfulness.

2. Theverie also I committed out of my Fathers Buttery and Table; either gluttony oft commanding me, or that I might have something to give my play-fellowes, selling me their Bables, with which they were as much delighted as my selfe. In these play-games I being often over-matched, did with a vaine desire to be accounted excellent, aspire to winne, though by foule play. And what was I so unwilling to indure, and what if I found out the deceit, would I so fiercely wrangle at, as even those very tricks which I would put upon others; and being my selfe taken with the manner, I would rather fall flat out, than yeeld to it.

3. Is this that childish innocencie? It is not LORD, it is not LORD: I crie thy mercie, O my GOD: for wranglings about Nuts, and Balls, and Birds, are as much to boyes (yet under their Tutors and Masters) as the ill getting of Gold, and Mannor Houses, and Slaves, is to Kings, and to Governours. But this Boyes-play passeth over as more years come on, just as greater punishments follow after

after the *Ferula*. Thou therefore, O our King, hast allowed of the Character of humility in the stature of Childhood, when once thou saidest; *To such belongeth the Kingdom of God.*

CHAP. XX.

He thanketh God for his Benefits.

1. **B**UT yet, O Lord, thanks had been due to thee, our God and most excellent Creator, Governour of this Universe; although thou hadst not been pleased to have brought me any further than that age of Childhood. For even then a Being I had, yea, *Life and Senses*; even then had I care of mine owne wel-being, which is an *impression of that most secret unity of thine, whence I had my Being; in my *inward sense preserved I the intirenesse of my outward senses; and in these slender faculties, was I delighted with the truth of mean conceits, I would not willingly be deceived; a fresh memorie I had; in formes of speaking I was well tutored; by friendly usage I was made tractable, I avoided all sadnesse, dejectednesse, and ignorance; in such a little Creature, what was there not admirable, not commendable?

But all these are the gifts of my God, for I bestowed them not upon my selfe. Good endowments they were; and all these was I, Good therefore is

* *Vestigium secretissimæ unitatis. Hence did the School-men borrow their Vestigium. * Interiore sensu: The Philosophers make three interior senses: 1. The common sense (or Judgement.) 2. The Fancy. 3. The Memory. To these he alludes: for these serve to receive and preserve the Species, or Formes of things, offered unto them by the five outward senses of the body.*

He that made me ; yea, he is my God, and to him I rejoyce for all my good gifts, which of a Childe I had. But here was my over-sight, that I sought not my selfe, and other pleasures, honours, and truthe in Him, but in his Creatures ; and therefore rusht I my selfe upon sorrowes, disorders, and errours. Thanks to thee my sweetnesse, my honour, my trust, and my God. Thanks to thee for all thy gifts : but be pleased to preserve them still unto me ; and thus shall my selfe be preserved, and thy Gifts shall be both increased and perfected, yea and I shall be with thee ; for my being is of thy giving.

S A I N T
A U G U S T I N E S
Confessions.

The Secord BOOKE.

C H A P. I.

He enters upon the yeares and finnes of his Youth.

I Will now call to minde my over-
passed impurities, and the flesh-
ly corruptions of my Soule :
not because I love them, but
that I may love thee, O my
G O D. For love of thy love I
doe it ; In the very bitternesse
of my remembrance, repeating over my most wicked
courses,

courses, that thou mayest onely grow sweet unto me; (thou sweetnesse never beguiling, thou happy and secure sweetnesse!) and recollecting my selfe out of that broken condition of mine, wherein I am piece-meale-shattered asunder; while being turned away from thee alone, I squandered away my selfe upon many vanities.

2. For I even burnt in my youth heretofore, to be satiated in these lower pleasures; and I dared even to grow wilde againe, with these various and shadowie loves: my beauty withered away, and I even stanke in thine eyes; pleasing my selfe all this while, and desirous to content the eyes of mortals.

CHAP. II.

He accuseth his Youth spent in the heat of lustfulnesse.

1. **AND** what was it that I delighted in, but to love, and to be beloved? but love kept not that moderation of one mindes loving another minde, as the lightsome bounder of true friendship; but out of that pudly concupiscence of my flesh, certaine mists and bubblings of youth fumed up, which beclouded, and so overcast my heart, that I could not discern the beauty of a chaste affection, from a fogge of impure lustfulnesse. Both did confusedly boile in me, and ravisht away my untayed Youth over the downefalls of unchaste desires, and drencht me over head and eares in the very whirle-poule of most heinous impurities. Thy wrath all this while grew upon me, and I perceived it not. I was now growne deafe by the continuall crashing of that Chaîne of my frailty, (thy punishment upon the pride of my soule) and I straggled

straggled further from thee, and thou lettest me alone, and I was tumbled up and downe, and I was even spilt and poured out, yea and I boiled over in my fornications, and thou heldest thy peace yet. O my Ioy, how slow art thou? Thou then heldest thy peace, and then wandred I further and further from thee, into more and more fruitlesse seed-plots of sorrowes, with a proud dejectednesse, and an untired wearinesse.

2. Oh for some body that would then have ^asweetned my misery, and have converted to good use the fading beauties of these newest vanities! that would then have prefixed some bounds to their tempting sweets, that so the high tides of my youth might have spent their force at last upon the shore of the marriage bed; if so be the calmnesse those Tides might be brought unto, would not have been contented with the delight of having children, as thy Law prescribes, O Lord: even thou, who this way formest the offspring of our mortality, being able also with a gentle hand to blunt the prickles of those thornes, which were not suffered to grow ^ain thy Paradise? For thy omnipotency is not very far from us, even when we be far from thee. But when I had once most heedfully hearkened to the voice of these clouds (of witness) of thine; Notwithstanding such shall have trou-

^a *Modularetur.* ^a He alludes to 1 Cor. 7. 29 the earths bringing forth thornes after Adams driving out of Paradise, his whole meaning is, that though usually married people have thornes or troubles in the flesh, yet God could make a marriage so happy to him, as he had done to Adam in Paradise, where no thorn (or discontent) ever grow, which sprung not up till Adam was expelled Paradise. He alludes to Heb. 12. 1. which witnesseth the Texts here quoted, 1 Cor. 7. 28. 1 Cor. 7. 1. 1 Cor. 7. 31.

He in the flesh, but I spare you. And again: It is good for a man not to touch a woman. And, He that is married careth for the things of this world, how he may please his wife.

3. Had I thereupon more attentively listned to those words, and made my self an * Eunuch for the kingdome of God, I might more happily have expected thy imbracements. But I was too hot upon it (wretch that I was) pursuing still the violent course of mine own stream, having left thee utterly: yea, and exceeded all thy prescriptions, nor did I escape thy scourges. For what mortall can avoyd them? For thou wert with mee at every turn most mildly rigorous, and ever and anon besawcing all my unlawfull pastimes with most bitter discontentments: all to draw me on to seek for such pleasures as were without such discontent. But where I might light upon such but thee, O Lord, I could not finde: But thee, who makest (as it were,) some hardship in thy Commandement; and smitest us that thou maiest break us, yea, slayest us that we should not die to thee-ward. Where was I, and how far was I banished from those delights of thy house in that sixteenth year of the age of my flesh, at what time the madnesse of raging lust, (in w^{ch} humane shamelesnesse takes too much liberty, notwithstanding by thy Lawes it be forbidden) exercised its supreme dominion in me, I giving over all my force unto it? my Parents took no care all this while by marriage to save me from ruine; but their care was to have me learn to make a powerfull Oration, and to prove a most perswasive Speaker.

* Mat. 9. 12. Augustine was yet a youth, and no Priest, therefore this place makes for Continency in the Laity (which was indeed frequent in those dayes;) and not of the Clergie only.

CHAP. III.

Of his travell for his studies sake, and his Parents purpose in it.

1. **N**OW for that year were my studies Intermitted : when as upon my return from *Madagascari* (a neighbor City wherein I had begun to learn the principles of Grammar and Rethorick) the expences for a further Journey to *Carthage*, were provided for me : and that rather out of a brave minde my Father bare, then any ability in him, for he was but a poor Freeman of *Tbagaste*. To whom tell I all this ? for to thee I tell it not; but before thee relate it to mine own kinde, even to so much of mankind as may light upon these writings of mine. And, to what purpose do I this; even that both my self, & whosoever reads this, may bethink our selves out of what depths we are to cry unto thee, *Psal. 130. 1.* For what is nearer to thine ear then the confessing heart, & the life directed by faith? Who did not then highly commend my Father, for that even above the ability of his meanes, he had furnished out his son with all necessaries for the taking of a far journey for his studies sake ? For many abler Citizens did no such thing for their children. But yet this Father of mine never troubled himself with any thought of, *How I might improve my self towards thee, or how chaste I were* ; so that I proved eloquent, though I were withall left undrest by thy tillage. O God, which art the only, true, and good Landlord of the field of my heart.

2. But while in that sixteenth year of my age I left going to School, and upon some household necessities lived idly at home with my parents, the briers of unclean

clean desires grew rank over my head, and there was no hand put to root them out. Moreover, when my Father seeing me in the Bath, how the signes of manhood began to bud in me, and plumed already with a stirring youthfulness: (as if in this sight he had first rejoiced, in hope of having grand children by me) he gladly told it to my mother; rejoicing (I say) at it in his wine, in which the world too often forgets thee its Creator, and in the baseness of its own will, frowardly and weakly setting its love upon thy Creature, in stead of thy self, who art divine and invisable. But thou hadst already begun thy Temple in my Mothers breast, and laid the foundation of thine own holy habitation, whereas my father was but a *Catechumenus* * as yet, one newly converted. She therefore was even startled with an holy fear and trembling. And though I were not as yet baptiz'd; yet feared she those crooked wayes, in which they walk, who set thee be- hind their backs, and not before their faces.

3. Woe is me! and dare I say that thou heldest thy peace, O my God, whilst I wandred further from thee? Is it so? Diddest thou indeed hold thy peace to me? And whose but thine were these words, which by my mother, thy faithfull one, thou sangest in my ears; Nothing of which would at that time so far sink into my heart, as to do it. For she commanded

* *Catechumenus*: such a one as in the Primitive Church was set to learn his *Catechisme*, and the grounds of Religion: in which he was to answer for himself when he after came to be baptiz'd. † *Nondum fideli*: The Primitive Church called non-fidels, but the baptiz'd, although they were never so learned, or devout Believers: but upon their repeating the Articles of Faith, in the time of Baptisme, they were called fideles, faithfull. *A symbelo fidei, fideles nominantur.*

me, and (as I well remember) between her and me with very much earnestnesse forewarned me, that I should not commit simple fornication; but especially that I should never defile another mans wife. These seemed to me no better then womens advices, which would be a shame for me to follow. But they were thine (indeed) and I knew it not: I thought thou hadst held thy peace, and that she only had spoken: She, by whom thou wert not silent unto me; and in her thy self was contemned by me; even by me her son, the son of thy handmaid and thy servant. But all this while I knew it not; and I ran headlong with such blindness, that I was ashamed amongst my equals to be guilty of lesse impudency then they were, whom I heard brag mightily of their naughtinesse: yea, and so much the more boasting, by how much more they had been beastly; and I took pleasure to do it, not for the pleasure of the act only, but for the praise of it also.

4. What now is worthy of dispraise if Vice be not? But I made my self worse then indeed I was, that I might not be dispraised; and when I wanted opportunity to commit a naughtinesse, should make me as bad as the best, I would faine my self to have done what I never did, that I might not seem so much the more dastardly, as I was the more innocent; and that I might not be counted so much the more faint-hearted, as I was the more chaste. Behold with what companions I walkt the streets of *Babylon*, and I wallowed my self in the mire of it, as if I had reposed in a bed of Spices, and most precious Ointments. And to make me cleave the faster to the very Center of sin, my invisible enemy trode me down, and seduced me, for that I was easie to be seduced. Yea, and the Mother of my flesh, although her self were already fled

led out of Babylon, Jer. 51. 6. yet went she with the slowest, about providing of due remedies for me; for, as she had once advised me to keep my Chastity, so shee carried some respect withall, to what she had heard her husband say of me. And thereupon be- thought her self to restrain what was both deadly and dangerous in me, within the bonds of a matrimoniall affection, if that infection in me could not otherwise be pared away by the quick. But long she continued not in that care, because she feared withall, lest my hopes might be hindred by a she-clogge. Not those hopes of the next world, which my Mother reposed in thee; but the hope of learning, which both my parents were desirous I should attain unto. He, because he had little, or no thought almost of thee, and but vain conceits of me neither. She, because she made reckoning that those usuall courses of learning, would not only be no hinderance, but a great furtherance towards my attaining of thee. For thus I conjecture (to my best remembrance,) were the disposition of both my parents at that time. The reines (in the mean time) of liberty to play were slackned towards me, beyond all temper of due severity, yea, even to dissoluteness in whatsoever I affected. And in all these there was a mist depriving my sight, O my God, of the brightnesse of thy truth; and mine iniquity came from me, as if swelling from a farnesse. Psal. 73. 7.

CHAP. IV.

How he robbed a Peave-tree.

1. Surely, thy Law (O Lord) punishes Theevery;
yea, and this Law is so written in our hearts,

that iniquity it selfe cannot blot in out. For what sheefe does willingly abide another man to steal from him? no not a rich sheefe, him that is driven to steale upon necessity. Yet had I a desire to commit thevery, and did it, compelled neither by hunger, nor poverty; but even through a cloyednesse of well-doing, and a pamperednesse of iniquity. For I stole that, of which I had enough of mine owne, and much better. Nor when I had done, cared I to enjoy the thing which I had stoln, but joyed in the theft and sin it selfe. A Peare tree there was in the Orchard next our Vineyard, well laden with fruit, not much tempting either for colour or taste. To the shaking and robbing of this, a company of lewd young fellows of us went, late one night, (having, according to our idle custome in the Game-places, continued our sports even till that season) thence carried we huge loadings, not for our lickerishnesse, but even to fling to the Hogs, having bitten off one peece. And all this we did, not because we *might* doe it, but because we *would* doe it.

2. Behold my heart; O Lord, behold my heart, which thou hadst pitie upon in the very bottom of the very bottomlesse pit. Now (behold) let my heart tell thee, what it sought for there, that I should be thus evill for nothing, having no other provocation to ill, but foule ill it selfe. Yet I loved it, I loved it, I undoe my selfe, I loved mine owne fault, not so much that, for which I committed the fault, but even the very fault it selfe, of my beastly soule; shrinking back thus from my hold fast upon thee; even to utter destruction; not affecting any thing that had shame in it, but the very shame it selfe.

CHAP. V.

No man sinneth, but provoked by some cause.

There is a comelineſſe now in all beautifull bodies, both in Gold and Silver, and all things; and in in the touch of ſheſh, ſympathy pleaſes much. Each other ſenſe hath his proper object unfavourably tempered. Worldly honour hath alſo its grace in commanding, and overcoming by it's ſweet power; whence ſprings the thirſt of revenge. But yet, might a man obtaine all theſe, he were not to depart from thee, O Lord, nor to encline from thy law. The life alſo which here we live, hath its proper enticement, and that by reaſon of a certaine proportion of comelineſſe of it's owne, and a correſpondency with all theſe inferiour beauties. That frienſhip alſo which is amongſt Societies, we ſee endeared with a ſweet tie, even by reaſon of the union of many hearts.

2. Upon occaſion of all theſe, and the like, is ſinne committed, while through an immoderate inclination towards theſe, which are Goods but of the loweſt alloy, better and higher are left out; even thou our Lord God, thy Truth, and thy Law. For theſe low things have their delights, but nothing like my Lord God, who hath made theſe All; for in him is the righteous man delighted, and he is the deliciousneſſe of the upright in heart. When inquirie is made after wickedneſſe, upon what cauſe it was committed, no other reaſon uſes to be beleev'd but this. When then there hath appeared to be a poſſibility of th. Appetites obtaining ſome one of thoſe good things which we called of a lower alloy, or elſe a ſeaſe of loſing it. For even theſe are beautifull and comely; although compared with thoſe higher goods, and happy making riches.

ches, they be but abject and contemptible.

3. A man hath murdered another; why so? Either he loved his wife or his estate; or he would rob another, to get maintenance for himselfe; or he stood in feare to lose some such thing by him; or being wronged, he was all on fire to be revenged of him. Would any man commit a murder upon no provocation, but only upon a delight he takes in murdering? Who will beleve it? For as for that *man, said to be so stupidly and savagely cruell, that he was evill and cruell, meerely for cruelties sake; yet is there a cause assigned; Lest (sayes himselfe) my hand or heart should grow unactive with idlenesse. And why that? Why? Even because when he had once made himselfe master of the City, through frequent execution of mischievousnesse, he might mount up unto honours, commands, and riches; and set himselfe above the feare of Law, and the difficulty he found in getting meanes for the maintenance of his Family, and the consciounesse of his owne villanies. Therefore even *Catiline* himselfe loved not his owne villanies, but 'twas something else he loved, for whose sake he fell to commit them. * *Catiline*

CHAP. VI.

All those things which under the shew of good, invite us unto sin, are in God alone to be found true and perfect.

1. **V**What then was it that wretched I so loved thee, O thou Theft of mine, thou deede of darknesse which I committed in that 16. year of my age? Lovely thou wert not, because thou wert Theft. But art thou any thing, that I may reaso the case with thee? Those Peares that we stole were faire

faire to see to, for they were thy creature. O thou most beautifull of all, thou Creatour of all, thou good God; God, thou Sovereigne good, and my true good: those Peares were faire indeed, but it was not those that my wretched soule desired; for I had store of better of mine own, and I beat downe those only, that I might steale. For having gathered them up, I flung them away, eating little of them, but my owne sin only, which I was extremely pleased with the enjoying. For if any bitt of those Peares came within my mouth, the sweetest sawce it had was the sin of the eater.

2. And now, O LORD my GOD, I enquire what was it in that Theevery of mine, should so much delight me; and behold there appears no loveliness in it. I do not meane such loveliness as there is seene in Iustice, and Wisdome; no, nor such as is in the minde and memory; or in the senses and vegetable soule of man: nor yet such as the Starres are glorious and beautifull withall in their Orbes; or the Earth, or Sea, replenished with their naturall off springs, which by daily growing, supply the roomes of the decayed. Nay, my Theft had not so much as that false colour or shadow of good, that usually appears in deceiving vices. For Pride imitates high-spiritedness; whereas thou alone art the highest over all. Ambition, what seeks it but honours and reputation? whereas thou art to be honoured above all things, and glorious for evermore. The cruelty of great ones desires to be feared; but who is to be feared but God alone? out of whose power, what can be wrested? or when, or where, or which way, or by whom? The inticements of amorous inveiglers, desire to be loved; but yet is nothing more pleasurable than thy

Charity; nor is any thing loved more wholefomely than the Truth of thine, more bright and beautifull than any thing. Curiosity makes semblance to affect a desire of knowledge; whereas 'tis thou only that supereminently knowest all things. Yea, ignorance and foolishnesse it selfe would yet be masked under the name of simplicity and innocency; even because nothing can be found more simple than thy self: and what is more innocent, seeing all thy works are so averse from evill? Yea, Sloth pretends a desire of quietnesse; but what stable rest is there besides the Lord? Expensivenesse affects to be called plenty and abundance; yet art thou the fulnesse and never-failing plenty of most incorruptible sweetnes. Prodigality pretends a shew of liberality: but thou art the most flowing bestower of all good things. Covetousnesse desires to possesse much: and thou possessest all. Emulation contends for excellency: but what so excellent as thou? Anger seeks revenge; but who revenges more justly than thou? Feare startles at unusuall and sudden chances, which skare away the thing loved, while it is wary for it's own security: but what can happen unusuall or sudden unto thee? or who can deprive thee of what thou lovest? Or where but with thee is there any feared security? Grief pines away it selfe at it's losses, which desire took delight to enjoy; even because it would no more be deprived like as nothing can be lost to thee.

3. Just thus does the soule commit a spirituall fornication, when she rurnes from thee, seeking those things without thee, which she can no where find pure and untainted, till she returns againe unto thee. Thus all awkwardly imitate thee, even they that get themselves far from thee, and who pride them themselves against

against thee: and yet by thus imitating thee, do they declare thee to be the Creator of the whole frame of nature; and consequently, that there is no place whither they can at all retire from thee. What therefore did I love in that theft of mine? and wherein did I thus awkwardly and corruptly imitate thee? Was it because I was disposed to do contrary to thy Law, as but in shew, because by strong hand I could not: that being a prisoner, I might make shew of a counterfeit liberty by doing that unpunished, which I had not power to do under the assumed covert of thy Omnipotency?

CHAP. VII.

He returns thanks to God for remitting these sins, and for keeping him from many other.

BEhold, here is thy servant, fleeing from his Lord, and gotten under a shadow. O rottenness, O monster of life, O depth of death! could any thing please thee, that thou mightest not do lawfully; and do it too upon no other reason, but because it was not lawfull? What reward shall I render unto the Lord, for that he so gently brings these things to my remembrance, that my soul is not affrighted at it? I will love thee (O Lord) and thank thee, and I will confesse unto thy Name; because thou hast forgiven me this crime, and these heinous deeds of mine: unto thy grace and mercy do I ascribe, that thou hast dissolved my sins as it were Ice: yea, unto thy grace do I ascribe whatsoever evils I have not done. For what evill was I not apt enough to commit: what loved the sin for the sins sake? Yes, all I confesse to be

** He alludes to Ionas flight and Gourd.*

forgiven me; both what evils I committed wilfully, and what by thy guidance I have not committed.

3. What man is he, who upon consideration of his own infirmity, dares so far to ascribe his chastity and innocency to his own vertue, as that he thereupon should love thee the lesse; as if thy mercy, (by which thou forgivest those that turn unto thee) had been less necessary for him? Whosoever now being effectually called by thee, hath obeyed thy voice, and declined those transgressions which he here reads me, remembering and confessing of my self; let him not laugh at me, who am now cured by that same Physician, who ministred unto him such preservatives that he might not be sick at all, or but a little distempered rather: but let him take occasion thereupon to love thee so much, yea, so much the more; since by that Physician he hath observed me to have been recovered out of such deep consumptions of sinfulness, by the same hand he perceives himself not to have been incumbered by the like.

CHAP. VIII.

What he loved in that his theft.

1. **W**Hat fruit had I (wretched man) heretofore in these things, of the remembrance whereof, I am now ashamed? Rom. 6. 21. In that piece of thee-vice especially, wherein I loved nothing but the very Theft it self; whereas that was nothing of it self, but I much the more miserable by it? Yet by my self alone I would not have committed it; so well I now remember what my disposition then was, that alone I would never have done it. Beside therefore it was the company that I loved who were with me at it. And even therefore I loved no thing

thing but the theft it self; yea verily nothing else, because that circumstance of the *company*, was indeed a very nothing.

2. What is this, verily? who is it that teacheth me, but even he that enlightneth my heart, and discovers the darknesse of it? What is that which came into my head to enquire into, and to disesse and consider better of? For had I then loved those Pears which I stole, I might have done it by my self, had it been enough barely to commit the Thevery, by which I might attain my pleasure; nor needed I have provoked that itch of mine own desires, by the rubbing of those guilty consciences. But because the pleasure I took, consisted not in those Pears, it must needs therefore be in the very prank it selfe, which the company of us offenders joyntly committed together.

CHAP. IX.

Bad company is infectious.

1. **W**Hat kinde of disposition was that then? For it was too bad plainly: and woe to me that I had it. But yet what was it? Oh, *who can understand his errors?* Psal. 19. 12. We laugh heartily; till we tickled again, what we could beguile the owners, who little thought that we were a doing, and would never have endured it. Yet (again) why took I delight even in this, that I did it not alone? Is it for that no man doth so readily laugh alone? ordinarily indeed no body does; but yet a fit of laughter sometimes comes upon men by themselves and singly, when no body else is with them, if any thing worthy to be laughed at, comes either in their eye or fancies. Yet I for my part would not have done this alone; I should never have done it alone verily.

C 5

2 See

2. See here, my God; the lively remembrance of my soul set before thee. Alone, I would never have committed that Theft, wherein *what* I stole, did not so much content me, as *because* I stole it; which would never have pleased me so well to have done alone, nor would I ever have done it. O friendship too unfriendly! thou inveigler of the soul thou reasonlesse greedinesse to do mischief, all out of a mirth and wantonnesse, thou thirst to do wrong to others, though upon no pleasure of *gain*, or revenge unto our selves: But even because when one cries, *Let's go, let's do this or that*, 'tis a shame not to be shamelesse.

CHAP. XX.

Whatsoever is good, is in God.

1. **W**Ho can can pick out that crooked and intricate knotinesse? 'Tis filthy, I will never give my minde to it, I will not so much as look towards it. But thee I desire, O righteousness and Innocency, most beautifull and comely to all chaste eyes: yea, with an insatiable satiety I desire to behold thee. With thee is Rest assured, and a life never to be disturbed. He that enters into thee, *enters into his masters joy*: Mat. 25. 21. and he shall have no cause of fear, and shall be *well* in him, who is the best. I did away from thee, and I went astray, O my God, yea, too much astray from thee my stay, in these dayes of my youth, and I became to my self (as it were) a *far* *Country of misery*.

* He alludes to the prodigall child, Luke 15. 13.

SAINT

SAINT
AUGUSTINE'S
CONFESSIONS.

The Third Booke.

CHAP. I.

He is caught with love, which he hated after.



O Carthage I came, where a whole
Frying pan full of abominable
Loves crackled round about me,
and on every side, I was not in love
as yet, yet I loved to be in love,
and with a more secret kinde of
want, I hated my self, having little

want. I sought about for something to love, loving
still to be beloved, a safety I hated, and that way too
that had no snares in it: and all, because I had a
famine within me, even of that inward food, (O my self,
my God) though that famine made me not hungry:
For I continued without all appetite towards incor-
ruptible nourishments, not because I was already full,
but the more empty, the more queasie stomach. For
this cause my soul was not very well, but miserably
breaking out into botches, had an extreame itch to be
scratched by the touch of these sensible things, who yet

if they had not a life, could not deserve to be beloved. It was very pleasurable to me, both to love, and to be beloved, but much more, when I obtained to enjoy the person whom I loved.

I defiled therefore the Spring of friendship with the filth of uncleanness, and I besullied the purity of it with the Hell of lustfulness: But thus filthy and dishonest as I was, with a superlative kinde of vanity I took a pride to passe for a spruce and a gentile companion. I forced my self also into love, with which I affected to be ensnared. My God, my Mercy, with how much lowrenesse didst thou out of thy goodnesse to me, belawce that sweetnesse? For obtaining once to beloved again, and secerely arriving to the bond of enjoying; I was with much joy bound with sorrow-bringing imbracements, even that I might be scourged with the iron burning rods of Jealousie, and suspicious, and fears, and angers, and brawles. Stage-plays also at that time drew me away; sights full of the images of mine own miseries, and the fewell to mine own fire.

Chapter II Of Stage plays.

WHat's the reason now, that a spectator desires to be made sad, when he beholds dolefull and tragicall passages, which himself could not endure to suffer? yet for all that he desires to feel a kinde of passionatenesse, yea and his passion becomes his pleasure too. What's all this but a miserable madnesse? for every man is more affected with these actions, the lesse free he is from such affections: Howsoever when a man suffers ought in his own person, it uses to be

style

Styled misery: but when he hath a fellow feeling of
 others, then 'tis mercy. But what compassion is to
 be shewn at those feined and feenically passions? for
 the Additors here are not payked to help the sufferer,
 but invited only to be sorry for him: and they so
 much the more love the actor of these fictions, by
 how much the more he can move passion in them:
 and if the calamities of the persons represented (ei-
 ther fallen out long since, or merely feined) be so
 lamely set out, that no passion be moved in the spe-
 cator, he goes away surrorted, and reporting, scurrily
 of it: but if he be moved to passion, he fits it out ve-
 ry attractively, and even weeps for joy again: Are
 tears therefore loved, and passions? Verily each man
 desires joyfulness. Or, whereas no man is willing
 to be miserable, is he notwithstanding pleased to be
 mercifull? which because it cannot be without pas-
 sion, for this reason alone come passions to be loved.
 All this springs from that *King of friendship*.

2. But whither goes that Vein? which way flows
 it? wherefore runs it into that? Torrent of boiling
 pitch, those vast overflowings of the lands of lustful-
 nesse, into the nature of which it is of its own inclina-
 on changed, being quite altered from its heavenly
 cleanness, and corrupted? Shall compassion there-
 fore be banished? by no means. Let us frame our
 selves rather to love passion sometimes. But take
 heed of uncleanness. O my soul, under the eye of
 God my protector, (that God of our fathers, who is
 to be praised, and to be exalted above all, for ever
 and ever, with his holy spirit, and his angels, and his
 saints, to the Son of Sodom, which is said to be a
 pitchy slime, into which other rivers running, are there left in
 it, and like the lake is self, remain unmovable: wherefore
 it is called the dead Sea.

and

and ever beware of uncleannesse. Nor am I now
 full all compassion; but when in those dayes I in
 the Theatre sympathized together with the lovers,
 when they wickedly enjoyed one another, although
 they were merely feigned in the action of the
 stage, and when they told one another I was like
 with them, as if really pitying them being in both
 becomes equally delighted notwithstanding. But
 I much more pitty him now that still rejoyced in his
 own wickedness, then I do him that is as it were
 hardly plucked with the foregoing of some pernicious
 pleasure, and the losse of some miserable felicity.

3. This certainly is the true mercy, but the heart
 takes not so much delight in it. For though he that
 condoles with the miserable, be commended for his
 office of charity; yet had he, that is, most brotherly
 compassionate, much rather there were no occasion
 given him to condole us. For if good will be ill used,
 (which can never be) then may he as well, who is
 truly and sincerely compassionate, wish there might
 still be some men miserable, that he might still be
 compassionate. Some kinde of sorrow may therefore
 be allowed, but no kinde loved. And thus doest thou.
 O Lord God, who lovest our soules much more pure-
 ly then our selves can do, and art more incorruptibly
 mercifull, because thou canst be wounded with no sor-
 rowfulness. And who is fit for these things? But wretched
 I loved at that time to be made sorry, and sought out
 matter to be sorry at, when as in another mans misery,
 though mine, and merely performed, that action of
 the Player best pleased me, yea, and drew me the
 more vehemently, which extracted tears out of mine
 eyes. What marvell was it now, when being an un-
 happy sheep, straying from thy flock, and not con-
 senting

enced with thy keeping, I became infected with
that filthy scab? And hence came my tearing of those
frowns; not such (though) as should gall me too
deepe: (for I was not so far gone, as to love to suffer,
what I loved to look on;) but such yet as upon hear-
ing their fictions should lightly scratch me; upon
which (as after venom'd nailes) followed an infla-
med swelling, an Impostumation, and a purified
matter. Such a life I then led; but was that a life, O
my God?

CHAPTER III.

His conversation with Joking Lawyers.

AND thy faithfull mercie hovered over me af-
ter: Upon what grosse iniquities consumed I
my self, pursuing a sacrilegious curiosity, that having
once forsaken thee, it might bring me as low as the
very bottom of infidelity, to that beguiling service of
Divels, unto whom I sacrificed mine own vile ac-
tions, for all which thou didst chastise me? I was so
bold one day (as thy solemnities were a celebrating)
even within the wals of thy Church, to desire, and to
execute a businesse, enough to purchase me the very
finis of death, for which thou scourgedst me with
very grievous punishments, though nothing in respect
of my fault, O thou my infinite mercy, my God, my
refuge against those terrible dangers, in which I wan-
dered with a stiffe neck, to withdraw my self (the fur-
ther off from thee, loving mine own wayes, and not
thine; affecting at free home, though that of a Run-
away.

2. Those Studies of mine also which were ac-
counted commendable, were intended towards the

Law; with an ambition to prove excellent at them; so much the famouſer, as I proved the craftier. Such is mens blindneſſe, that they even brag of their owne craftneſſe. I became by this time to be a prime fellow in the Ribber, the ſchooler, and I joyed in it very proudly, and beſtold again with arrogance, though more temperate I was (Lord thou knoweſt) Yea, and far enough off from thoſe humours of the **OVERTURNERS**. (for this cruell, and diabolical name, was given out to be the very badge of gallantry) whom notwithstanding, I kept company with all, even with an impudent boldneſſe becauſe I had not ſo rightly gotten the garbe of it as they. With theſe I converſed, and was oft times delighted with their acquaintance, whoſe doings I ever did abhor, that is, their humors of **OVERTURNING**, in which their cuſtome was maliciously enough to come over the demerit and harmful behaviour of thoſe they never ſaw before, whom they thoroughly vexed with abuſing and jeering at upon no occaſion, and all to maintain their own humour of bitter jeſting, nothing in the world can be liker the very actions of the Devill himſelfe, then this behaviour of theſe. What name then may they more truly be called by, when **OVERTURNERS**? being themſelves overturned, and altogether perverted firſt, and that by theſe ſeducing and deceiving ſpirits, ſecretly deriding them, even for this, that themſelves take ſo much delight in jeering, and be put tricks upon others,

SEVERALS OF OVERTURNERS OR UNDOERS. Theſe for their boldneſſe were like our Roarers, and for their jeering, like the worſt ſort of thoſe that would be called *The Wits*. See lib. 5. c. 4. & 12.

CHAPTER IIII.

How Tullius Hortensius provoked him to study Philosophie.

Amongst these mad companions, in that tender age of mine, learned I the Books of Eloquence, wherein my ambition was to be eminent, all out of a damnable and vain glorious end, puffed up with a delight of humane glory. By the Ordinary course of study, I fell upon a certain Book of one Cicero, whose tongue almost every man admires, though not his heart. This book of his containes an exhortation to Philosophie, and is called *Hortensius*. The very book quite altered my affection, turned my prayers to thy self, O Lord; and made me have clean other purposes and desires. All my vain hopes I thenceforth slighted; and with an incredible heat of spirit thirsted after the immortalitie of wisdom, and began now to rowse up my selfe, that I might turne again to thee ward. For I made not use of that booke to use my tongue with, (which I seemed to buy with that exhibition my mother allowed me, in that nineteenth yeere of my age, my father being dead two yeeres before) I made not use therefore of that booke (I say) to sharpen my tongue withall, nor had it perswaded me to affect the fine language in it, but the matter of it.

How did I burn then, my God, how was I inflamed to fly from earthly delights towards thee, and yet I knew not what thou meantest to do with me? For with thee is wisdom. That love of wisdom is in Greek called *Philosophie*, with which that booke inflamed me. Some there be that seduce others through Philosophie, under a great, a fair promising, and an honest name, colouring over, and palliating their own errors:

errours: and almost all those, who in the same and former ages had been of that stamp, are in the book censured and set forth: there also is that most wholesome advice of thy Spirit, given by thy good and devout servant, made pliant, *Beware lest any man spoil you through Philosophie and vain deceit, after the traditions of men, after the rudiments of the world, and not after Christ. For in him dwelleth all the fulness of the Godhead bodily.* Col. 2. 8.

3. For my part (thou light of my heart knowest) that the Apostolicall Scriptures were scarce known to me at that time: but this was it that so delighted me in that "exhortation, that it did not ingage me in this or that sect, but left me free to love, and seek, and obtain, and hold, and embrace wisdom it self, whomever it were. Perchance 'twas that book I was stirred up, and inkindled, and inflamed by: This thing only in such a heat of zeal took me off, that the name of Christ was not in it. For this Name, according to my mercy, O Lord, this Name of my *Servant* (thou knowest) had my tender heart: even together with the others milk devoutly drunken in, and charily treasured up; so that what book soever was without the Name, though never so learned, politely and well penned, did not altogether take my approbation.

CHAP. V.

He sets lightly by the holy Scriptures, because of the simplicity of the stile.

1. I resolved therefore to bend my studies towards the holy Scriptures; that I might see what they were. But behold, I espie some thing in them, not revealed

the proud, not discovered unto children, humble
style, sublime in operation, and wholly veiled over
mysteriet; and I was not so fitted at that time, as to
perce into the sence, or stoop my high neck to track
the stile of it. For when I attentively read these Scrip-
tures, I thought not then so highly of them, as I now
speak; but they seemed to me far unworthy to be
compared to the staretlesse of the Ciceroian elo-
quence: For my swelling pride soar'd above the
temper of their stile, nor was my sharp wit able to
perce into their sence. And yet such are thy Scrip-
tures, as should grow up together with thy little ones.
But I much disdain'd to be held a little one; and big
boon with pride, I took my self to be some great
man.

CHAP. VI.

How he was insnared by the Manichees.

A Nd even therefore I fell upon a sect of men
proudly doing, too carnall and prating, in
whose mouths were the very snares of the Devill, and
every Birdlime, compounded by the mixture of the
syllables* of thy Name, and of our Lord Jesus Christ,
and of the Holy Ghost the Comforter: All these names
came not out of their mouth, but to the birth, as the
found only and the holie of the tongue, for their
heart was void of true meaning. Yet they cryed out
Truth, and Truth, and divers sounded the word to
me, yet was the Truth it self no where to be found a-
mongst them: But they spake falshood, not of thee
only (who truly art the Truth it self,) but also of the
elements of this world, thy creatures. Concerning

* These were frequent with the Manichees.

which

and ever) beware of uncleanness. Nor am I now
with all compassion; but when in those dayes I, in
the Theatre sympathized together with the lovers,
when they wickedly enjoyed one another, although
their Pains were merely feigned in the action of the
dramatists, and when they told one another I was
with them, as if really pitying them: being in both
degrees equally delighted notwithstanding. But
I much more pity him now that still rejoiceth in his
own wickedness, then I do him that is as it were
hardly plucked with the foregoing of some pernicious
pleasure, and the loss of some miserable felicity.

3. This certainly is the true mercy, but the heart
takes not so much delight in it. For though he that
condoles with us miserable, be commended for his
office of charity; yet had he, that is, most brotherly
compassionate, much rather there were no occasion
given him to condole us. For if *good will be ill-used*,
(which can never be) then may he as well, who is
truly and sincerely compassionate, wish there might
still be some men miserable, that he might still be
compassionate. Some kinde of sorrow may therefore
be allowed, but not kinde loved. And thus doest thou.
O Lord God, who lovest our soules much more particu-
larly then our selves can do, and art more incomparably
mercifull, because thou canst be wounded with no sor-
rowfulness. *And who is fit for these things?* But I reached
I loved at that time to be made sorry, and sought our
warrant to be sorry at, when as in another mans misery,
though I live, and merrily entertained, that action of
the Player best pleased me. yea, and drew me the
more vehemently, which extracted tears out of mine
eyes. What marvell was it now, when being an un-
happy sheep, straying from thy flock, and not con-
tending

meed with thy keeping, I became infected with
 filthy feab? And hence came my loving of those
 arrows; not such (though) as should gall me too
 deepe: (for I was not so far gone, as to love to suffer
 what I loved to look on:) but such yet as when hear-
 ing their motions should lightly scratch me; upon
 which (as after venomd nailes) followed an infla-
 med swelling, an Impostumation, and a purrified
 matter. Such a life I then led; but was that a life, O
 my God?

CHAP. XII.

His conversation with jolling Lawyers.

AND thy faithfull mercie hovered over me a far
 off: Upon what grosse iniquities consumed I
 my self, pursuing a sacrilegious curiosity, that having
 once forsaken thee, it might bring me as low as the
 very bottom of infidelity, to that beguiling service of
 Divels, unto whom I sacrificed mine own vile deli-
 ons, for all which thou didst chastise me? I was so
 bold one day (as thy solemnities were a celebrating)
 even within the wals of thy Church, to desire, and to
 extort a businesse, enough to purchase me the very
 fruits of death, for which thou scourgest me with
 very grievous punishments, though nothing in respect
 of my fault. O thou my infinite mercy, my God, my
 refuge against those terrible dangers, in which I wan-
 dered with a stiff neck, to withdraw my self the far-
 ther off from thee, loving mine own wayes, and not
 thine; affecting a free lome, though that of a Run-
 away.

2. Those Studies of mine also which were ac-
 counted commendable, were intended towards the

Law, with an ambition to prove excellent at them
 so much the famouſer, as I proved the crafter. Such
 is mens blindneſſe, that they even brag of their owne
 excellencie. I became by this time to be a prime fellow
 in the Rhetoricke ſchools, and I joyed in it very proudly,
 and beſetled againe with arrogancy, though more
 temperate I was (Lord thou kneweſt) Yea, and far
 enough off from thoſe humours of the **OVERTURNERS**.
 (for this cruell, and diabolical
 name, was given out to be the very badge of gal-
 lantrie) whom notwithstanding, I kept company with
 all; even with an impudent baſhfulneſſe, becauſe I
 had not ſo rightly gotten the garbe of it as they. With
 theſe I converſed, and was oft times delighted with
 their acquaintance, whoſe doings I ever did abhor,
 that is, their humors of **OVERTURNING**,
 in which their cuſtome was maſtly enough to
 make over the demerit and baſhfuller behaviour of
 thoſe they never ſaw before, whom they thoroughly
 vexed with abuſing and jeering at upon no occaſion,
 and all to maintain their own humour of bitter jeſt-
 ing, nothing in the world can be liker the very actions
 of the Devill himſelfe, then this behaviour of theſe;
 what name then may they more truly be called by,
 then **OVERTURNERS**? being themſelves o-
 verturned, and altogether perverted firſt, and that by
 theſe ſeducing and deceiving ſpirits, ſecretly deriding
 them, even for this, that themſelves take ſo much de-
 light in jeering at, and abuſing others.

SEVERAL OF THE OVERTURNERS
DOERS. Theſe for their baſhfulneſſe were like our Roarers,
 and for their jeering, like the worſt ſort of thoſe that would
 be called, The Wits. See lib. 5. c. 8. & 12.

CHAP. III.

How Tullius Hortensius provoked him to study
Philosophie.

1. Amongst these mad companions, in that tender age of mine, learned I the Books of Eloquence, wherein my ambition was so predominant, all out of a damnable and vain glorious end, puff up with a delight of humane glory. By the Ordinary course of Study, I fell upon a certain Book of one Cicero, whose tongue almost every man admires, though not his heart. This book of his contains an exhortation to Philosophie, and is called *Hortensius*. The very book quite altered my affection, turned my prayers to thy self, O Lord; and made me have clean other purposes and desires. All my vain hopes I thenceforth slighted; and with an incredible heat of spirit I thirsted after the immortalitie of wisdom, and began now to rowse up my selfe, that I might turn again to thee ward. For I made not use of that booke to file my tongue with, (which I seemed to buy with that exhibition my mother allowed me, in that nineteenth yeere of my age, my father being dead two yeeres before) I made not use therefore of that booke (I say) to sharpen my tongue withall, nor had it perswaded me to affect the fine language in it, but the matter of it.

2. How did I burn then, my God, how was I inflamed to fly from earthly delights towards thee, and yet I knew not what thou meantest to do with me? For with thee is wisdom. That love of wisdom is in Greek called *Philosophie*, with which that booke inflamed me. Some there be that seduce others through Philosophie, under a great, a fair promising, and an honest name, colouring over, and palliating their own errors:

errours: and almost all those, who in the same and former ages had been of that stamp, are in this book censured and set forth: there also is that most wholesome advice of thy Spirit, given by thy good and devout servant, made plian; Beware lest any man spoyle you through Philosophie and vain deceipt, after the traditions of men, after the rudiments of the world, and not after Christ. For in him dwelleth all the fulness of the Godhead bodily. Col. 2. 8.

3 For my part (thou light of my heart knowest) that the Apostolicall Scriptures were scarce known to me at that time; but this was it that so delighted me in that exhortation, that it did not ingage me to this or that sect, but left me free to love, and seek, and obtain, and hold, and imbrace wisdom it self, whomever it were. Perchance 'twas that book I was stirred up, and inkindled, and inflamed by: This thing only in such a heat of zeal took me off, that the name of Christ was not in it. For this Name, according to thy mercy, O Lord, this Name of my Saviour, thy Sonne, had my tender heart, even together with my mothers milk devoutly drunken in, and charily treasured up; so that what book soever was without this Name, though never so learned, polately and truly penned, did not altogether take my approbation.

CHAP. V.

He sets lightly by the holy Scriptures, because of the simplicity of the stile.

4 I Resolved therefore to bend my studies toward the holy Scriptures, that I might see what they were. But behold, I espie some thing in them not revealed

to the proud, not discovered unto children, humble in stile, sublime in operation, and wholly veiled over in mysteries; and I was not so fitted at that time, as to pierce into the sence, or stoop my high neck to track the stile of it. For when I attentively read these Scriptures, I thought not then so highly of them, as I now speak; but they seemed to me far unworthy to be compared to the stateliness of the *Ciceronian* eloquence: For my swelling pride soar'd above the temper of their stile, nor was my sharp wit able to pierce into their sence. And yet such are thy Scriptures, as should grow up together with thy little ones. But I much disdain'd to be held a little one; and big-swoln with pride, I took my self to be some great man.

CHAP VI.

How he was insnared by the Manichees.

1. A ND even therefore I fell upon a sect of men proudly doing, too carnall and prating, in whose mouths were the very snares of the Devill, and a very Birdlime, compounded by the mixture of the syllables * of thy Name, and of our Lord *Jesus Christ*, and of the *Holy Ghost* the *Comforter*: All these names came not out of their mouth, but so far forth, as the sound only and the noise of the tongue, for their heart was void of true meaning. Yet they cryed out Truth, and Truth, and divers sounded the word to me, yet was the Truth it self no where to be found amongst them: But they spake falsehood, not of thee only (who truly art the Truth it self) but also of the elements of this world, thy creatures. Concerning

* These were frequent with the Manichees.

which

which it had been my duty. (O my Supreme good Father, thou beauty of all things that are beautiful, to have out-stripped all the Philosophers, though they spake most truly. O Truth, Truth, how inwardly did the very marrow of my soul pant after thee, when they often and divers wayes, though but barely, pronounced thy name to me, with their voice only, and in many books and huge volumes? And these were the dishes wherein to hunger starven me, they, instead of thee, served in * the Sun and Moon: Beaupull works indeed of thine, but thy creatures notwithstanding, not thy self, no nor thy first creature neither. For thy spirituall works are before thee corporall works, celestiall though they be, and shining.

2. But I hungred and thirsted not after those first works of thine, but after thee, even thee, the Truth *with whom there is no variablenesse, neither shadow of turning:* Jam. 1. 17. yet they still set before me in those dishes, glorious phantasies, than which much better were to love this Sunne, (which is true to our sight at least,) than those phantasies which by our eyes serve to deceive our minde. Yet because I thought *Them* to be *Thee*, I fell to and fed; not greedily though, for thou wert not savoury in my mouth, nor like thy self; for thou wast not those empty fictions, nor was I soundly nourisht by them, but drawn dry rather. That food we dream of, shewes very like the food which we eat awake; yet are not those asleep nourished by it, for they are asleep. But neither were those phantasies any way like to thee, as thou hast since spoken to me; for that those were corporall phantasies only, false bodies, then which these are

* See also de the Manichees Philosophicall Theologid.

And let both celestiall, and terrestriall, which with our
fleshy light we behold, are far more certain. These
things the very beasts and birds discern as well as we,
and they are much more certain then any we can fan-
cy of our selves. And again, we do with more cer-
tainy conceive the images of these, then by them in-
tain the least suspicion of any vaster or infinite bo-
dies which have at all no being: such empty husks
as these, was I then fed with, yet not a whit nourished.

3 But thou my Love, after whom I pine, that I
may gather the more strength, art not these bodies
which we see, though from heaven appearing: nor
art thou any of those which we see nor there; for all
those hast thou created, nor yet * in these chiefest
pieces of thy workmanship art thou far absent. How
far then art thou from those fond phantasies of mine,
the phantasies of those bodies which have at all no
being? then which the Images of those bodies, which
have reall existence, are farre more certain, and yet
the bodies themselves more certain than their owne
Images; yet these bodies thou art not. No, nor yet
art thou the Soule, which is the life of those bodies;
though better and more certaine be the life of those bo-
dies, than the bodies themselves are. But thou art the
life of soules, the life of lives, yea the very living life it
selfe; nor art thou altered, O life of my soule. Where
therefore, how neer wert thou then unto me, and how

* Here the Popish Translator patches two sentences into one,
losing halfe the force of the Fathers Argument. * Nec in
hominis tuis conditionibus abes. Here he hath missed the
whole sense, turning it: And when thou wilt thou canst make
nobler than they: meaning, than the Angels, as in margins
intimates. Judge Reader. Saint Augustine alludes to Act. 17.
17. as may be seen by his following it.

fasten me? Very far verily had I straggled from thee, being even barr'd from the huskes of the Swine, whom with husks I * was let to feed. How much better then are those fables of the Poets and Grammarians, than these fooltraps. For their Verles, and Poems, and *Medea flying*, are more profitable surely, than these * mens *Five elements*, only devised to answer the *Five Deas of darkness*, which have at all not being, and which slay the believer. For Verles and Poems I verily can referre to the * true Elements. But *Medea flying*, although I chanted sometimes, yet I maintain'd not the truth of, and though I heard it sung, I beleev'd it not: But these phantasies I thoroughly beleev'd.

Alas, alas; by what degrees was I brought into the very bottome of hell? when as toyling and tummyling my self through want of Truth, I sought after thee my God, (to thee I now confesse it, who hadst mercie on me, when I had not yet confessed) not according to the understanding of the minde, wherein thou madest me excell the beasts; but according to the sense of the flesh. But thou at the same time wert more inward to me, then my most inward part; and superiour, then unto my supremest. I chanced upon that bold woman, who is simple and * knoweth nothing, that subtiltie in Salomon sitting at the doore of her house, and saying, *Eate ye bread of secrecies willingly, and drinke ye stolne waters which are sweete*: This harlot seduced me, because she found my soule

* Another exple of the old Translator, which he turnes, Though with husks: was entertaining my brutish appetite.

* The Manichees foulries he alludes unto. * Another mistake. Ad vera elementa transiunt. I can apply to a true sense, with his consent. This Translator. * Compare Pro 10. with Pro 9. 13. 17. and you have the meaning.

without

inholme doores; dwelling in the eye of my Bessie, and
believing the end by my selfe, upon such bayes, as
through her Inticement I had devoured.

CHAP. VII.

The absurd doctrine of the Manichees.

1. **FOR** I knew not that there was any other truth,
and was, as it were, through mine own fault
wile perswaded to give my consent to those foolish de-
ceivers when they put these questions to me, *Whence
cometh evill? and whether God were made up in a hu-
man shape, and had haire and nayles? and whether those
were to be esteemed righteous men, who had many wives
at once, and did kill men, and offered sacrifices of feeding
creatures?* At which things ignorant I was much
troubled; and while I went quite from the truth, I
seemed to my self to be making towards it; because I
yet knew not how that evill was nothing else but a pri-
vation of good, having of it self at all no being. Which,
how should I come to see; whose sight pierced no fur-
ther then to a body, with mine eyes; and with my soule
so deeper then to a meere phantastie.

2. Nor did I yet know God to be a Spirit, who
hath not any parts extended in length and breadth,
or whose Being was to be a bulke; for that every
bulke is lesse in his part, than in his whole; and if it
be infinite, it must be lesse in some part that is limited
in a certaine space, then that which is not limited; and
cannot so be wholly every where, as a Spirit,
as God is. And which part in us that should be, by
which we were like to God, and how rightly in
the Scriptures we may be said to be made after the
Image of God, I was altogether ignorant. Nor was

* Cui esse, moles esset.

I yet acquainted with that truth and inward righteousness, which judges not according to custome, but out of the most rightfull Law of God Almighty, by which the fashions of severall places and times were disposed, as was fittest both for those times and places; it self in the mean time being *The same in every place, and every where, not another thing in another place, nor otherwise upon another occasion.* According to which righteousness both *Abraham* and *Isaac* and *Jacob*, and *Moses*, Heb. 11. were righteous, yea and all those other, commended by the mouth of God: but they were judged unrighteous by unskilfull people, judging out of humane judgement, and measuring all mankind in generall, by the modell of their own customes: just as if in an Armory, a man being ignorant what piece were appointed for what part, should clap a boote upon his head, and draw an heele piece upon his legge, and then murmur, because they would not fit him: or as if upon some set day, when the course of Justice is publicly forbidden in the afternoon, a Shopkeper should stomacke at it that he may not have leave^a to sell his wares, which it was

^a Here the old Translator bewraies ignorance enough. Thus he renders it: Or as when publike justice should command the shops to be shut after noon upon some certain day, one should chafe for not being suffered to sell his wares, although the next day he might lawfully do it. Let me help him: The Romans had three sorts of dayes, 1. Festus, or Ferials, whole holydayes. 2. Profestus, whole working dayes. 3. Interseilos, half holy dayes. In this last sort the Courts of Justice, and Shops having been open the forenoon, upon some sudden accident, (suppose the death or funerall of some great personage, &c.) the Beadle proclaim'd a cessation from working and pleading. Upon the same occasion have we in our Universities sudden Non Terminus, and ceasing of all disputations, namely upon the death of some Master of Arts, or Doctor.

lawful

lawfull for him to do in the forenoon : or when in some house he observeth some servant to passe that kinde of businesse through his hands, which the Butcher is not suffered to meddle withall ; or something done behinde the Stable, which is forbidden in the Dining-roome : or as if he should be angry, that where there is one dwelling house, and one Family, the same equalitie of distribution is not observed every where, and to all alike in it.

3. Of the same humor be those who are fretted to heare something to have been lawfull for righteous men in the former age, which is not so for just men now adayes : And because God commanded *them* one thing then, and *these* another thing now, for certaine temporall respects ; and yet those of both ages to be servants to the same righteousnesse : whereas they may observe, that in one man, and in one day, and in one house, one thing to be fit enough for one member, and one thing to be lawfull now, which an hour hence is not so ; and something to be permitted or commanded in one corner, which is forbidden and punished in another. Is Justice thereupon various or mutable ? No, but the *times* rather in which Justice governes are not like one another ; for they are *times*. But men now, whose life is but short upon the earth, for that in their own apprehensions they are not able to compare together the causes of those former ages, and of other nations, which they have had no experience of, with these which they have had experience of : and that in one and the same body, day, or family, they may easily observe what is fitting for such a member, and at what seasons, what parts, and what persons ; they take exceptions to these, but to these they servilely submit their approbations.

D

4. These

4. These things I then knew not, nor did I mark them; and they on every side beate about mine eyes, yet did I not see them. I endited Verses, in which I had not libertie to place every foot where I pleased, but in one *meeter* in one place, and in another *meeter* in another place: and not the self same foot in all places of the selfe same verse neither: yea, and the very Art of Poetry it self, by which I endited, had not Rules different in one place from those in another, but all answerable. Nor did I then behold how that Rule of Righteousnesse, to which those good and holy men obeyed, did far more excellently and sublimely containe all those things which God commanded, answerably one unto another; which though not varied from it self in any part, yet in different ages, did not distribute or command all the same things at one time, but what was fit and proper for each time. Thus blinde, I reprehended those holy Fathers, not onely for making use of the present things with that libertie which God both commanded and inspired them, but even also for foretelling things to come, which God had revealed to them.

CHAP. VIII.

Hainous offences, what they be, and how punished.

1. **C**AN it at any time or place be an unjust thing for a man to love God with all his heart, with all his soule, and with all his minde; and his neighbour as himself? Deut. 6, Mat. 22. Therefore are those crimes which be against nature, to be every where, and at all times both detested and punished, such as those of the men of Sodom were: which should all nations commit, they should stand guilty.

guiltie of the same crime, by the Law of God, which hath not so made men, that they should any way abuse one another: For even that Societie which should be betwixt God and us, is then violated, when the same Nature, of which he is Author, is polluted by the preposterousnesse of lust. Those Actions also which are offences against the customes and publike usage of people, are to be avoided, with respect had to the diversitie of those severall Customes and usages; so that a thing publikely agreed upon, and confirmed, either by the Custome or Law of a Citie, or Nation, amongst themselves, may not be violated at the lawlesse pleasure of any, whether *native* or *forreiner*.

2. But when God commands any thing to be done, either against the Customes or Constitutions of any people whatsoever, though the like were never done heretofore, yet is it to be done now; and if ever hath been intermitted before, it is to be restored now; and if it were never made a Law before, it is to be made one now. For lawfull if it be for a King, in that Citie which he reignes over, to command that never any Prince had before him, nor he himself ever heretofore, & that it cannot be held to be against the common good of the Citie that he is obeyed; nay, it were against it if he were not obeyed: (For, a generall agreement of all humane Societies it is, *That Princes should be obeyed:*) How much more dutifull then ought we to be to God, who is Lord Paramount over all his creatures, and that without any sticking at all, at whatsoever he pleases to command us? For as amongst those Powers appointed in humane Societie, the greater Authoritie is set over the lesser, to command obedience; so is God set over

all. In heinous offences also, where there arises ambitious will to hurt another, be it either by offering reproach or injurie; and both of these either upon occasion of revenge, as in one enemy against another, or for the compassing of some piece of profit, not in his own power, as in the high-way theefe to the traveller, or for the elchewing of some evill, as in him that is afraid of another, or in case of envying, as the miserable wretch against him in happier condition, or as he that is well thriven in any thing, feares him that is to grow up to him, or is grieved at him already in equality with him; or for the pleasure alone at another mans mischance, as those that are spectators of the sword-players, or that deride, or put tricks upon others. These be these chiefe heads of iniquitie, which sprout forth from that lawlesse desire, See 1. *Joh.* 2. 1. of *Bearing rule*, of *Seeing much*, or of *Feeling pleasure*, or of any one, or two of these, or of all three together. Thus we live offensively against *Three*, & *Seven*, the *Psalter*, *Psal.* 33. 2. of ten strings, thy ten Commandements, O God, most high, and most sweet.

3. But what foule offences can there be against thee, seeing thou canst not by them be corrupted? or what high handed transgressions can grieve thee, who canst not be harmed? But this is it that thou reve-nest, that namely which men commit against one another, seeing also when they sin against thee, they do wickedly, even against their own senses, and iniquitie gives it self the lie, either by corrupting or perverting its own nature, which thou hast created and ordained; or else by an immoderate use of those creatures appointed for them; or in burning in lust towards the use of what is not appointed, which is against nature, or when as they are guiltie to themselves

selves for raving with heart and tongue against thee, *rejoicing thereby against the prick.* Acts 9. 4. or when, as breaking open the pale of all humane societie, audacious people rejoyce themselves in their privie bargaines of bawderies, or threveries, right as any thing either delighteth, or offendeth them.

4. And these pranks are plaid, when ever thou art forsaken, O Fountain of Life, which art the only and the true Creator and Governor of this *Universe*, when as out of a singularity of pride, any one false thing is in part loved. By an humble devotnesse must we therefore returne unto thee; and then thou purgest away our lewd customes, and provest favourable to their sins that confesse unto thee, and thou hearest the groanes of those that are annihilated by them, and thou loosest those fetters which we have made for our own selves; if so be we do not lift up against thee the horns of a scined libertie, through a gripplenesse of having more, though with a danger of losing all; even by more strongly feeling our love upon our own private commoditie, then upon thee the common good of all.

CHAP. IX.

The difference that is betwixt sins, and betwixt the judgement of God and men.

1. **B**ut amongst those infamous and high-handed offences, are the sins of these men to be reckoned, who are good *proficients* otherwise in vertue; which by those that judge rightly, and after the Rule of perfection, are discommended, and yet the persons commended withall, upon hope of better fruit, as is the greene blade of the growing Corne. And there

are some again, that looke like infamous or impudent crimes, which yet are no sinnes; even for that they neither offend thee, O Lord God, nor yet any sociable conversation; when (namely) provision is made of some things fitting for the times, and we cannot judge whether it be out of a lust of *having*; or when when some actions be by ordinary authority punished, with a desire of correcting, and it is uncertain whether it were out of a desire of *hurting*. Many a fact therefore which seemes worthily disallowed by men, is yet well approved of by thy testimonie; and many a one by men praised, are (thou being Witnesse) condemned: and all this, because the outside of the fact, and the minde of the doer, and the unknowen secret of the present hint of opportunitie, are all different from one another.

2. But when thou on the sudden commandest any unusuall and unthought of thing, yea, notwithstanding thou hast sometime heretofore forbidden this, (although thou keepest secret for the time the reason of thy command, and notwithstanding it be against the private ordinance of some Societie of men) who doubts but it is to be obeyed, seeing that Societie of men is a *just Societie*, which *serves thee*? But happier are they who know it was thou that gave the command. For all things are done by them that serve thee, either for the providing themselves of what is needfull for the present, or for the foreshewing of something to come hereafter.

CHAP. X.

*He speaks againe of the Figtree: and derides the
Manichees foolish conceits about it.*

1. I My self being at that time ignorant of these things, derided heartily those holy servants and Prophets of thine. And what gain'd I by scoffing at them, but that my self should in the meane time be scorned at by thee, being sensibly, and by little and little drawne on to those royes, as to beleve that a Fig-tree wept when it was plucked, and the Mother of it to shed milkie teares? Which Fig notwithstanding (pluckt by some other mans boldnesse) had some *Manichean* Saint eaten, he should digest in his guts, and breath out of that Fig, very Angels; yea, in his prayer, groane and sigh out certaine portions (forsooth) of the Deitie; which portions of the most high and true God should remaine bound in that Fig, unlesse they had been set at libertie by the teeth or belly of some elect holy one. And I beleev'd (wretch that I was) that more mercy was to be showne to the fruits of the earth, than unto men, for whose use they were created. For if any man (though an hungred) should have eaten a bit, who were no *Manichee*, that morsell would seeme as it is were to be condemned to a capitall punishment, should it have beene given him.

He alludes in this Chapter to the folly of the Manichees.

CHAP. XI.

His Mothers Dreame.

1. **A**ND thou stretchedst thine hand from on high, and drewest my soule out of that darksome

deepnes, when as my Mother, thy faithfull one wept
to thee for me, more bitterly than mothers use to do
for the bodily deaths of their children. For she evi-
dently foresaw my death, by that faith and spirit
which thou hadst given her, and thou heardest her, O
Lord; thou heardest her, and despisedst not her teares,
when flowing downe, they watered the very earth
under her eyes in every place where she prayed, yet
thou heardest her. For whence else was that dream of
hers, by which thou comfortedst her; in w^{ch} she verily
thought me to live with her, and to eate at the same
table in house with her, which she already begun to be
unwilling withall, refusing and detesting the blas-
phemies of my errour. For she saw (in her sleepe)
her self standing in a certain w^{ooden} ^{barberie} ^{barberie},
and a very beautifull young man coming towards
her, with a cheerfull countenance, and smiling upon
her, her self being grieved, and far gone with sor-
rowfulness. Which young man, when he had de-
manded of her the causes of her sadness, and daily
weepings, (that he might teach rather as Angels use to
doe, than learne) and she had answered that it
was my perdition that she bewailed; he bade her rest
contented, and wist her to observe diligently, and
behold, That where she her self was, there was I also.

a He alludes here to that devout manner of the Eastern An-
cients, who used to lie flat on their faces in prayer. b Here the
old Translator is mistaken, falsely construing the word Crede-
re. c Her vision. d In quadam Tegula Lignea, and not in
regula Linea, or Lignea, as the Printed Copies read it. This
Tegula signifies an upper roome next the tiles: But in those
hot Africane Countries, they used to be much upon the Roofs
of their houses; which therefore were commanded to be battled
warded, least any should fall from thence, Deut. 22. 8. Some such
upper roome, gallery, or pergula, it is likest to have been.

Who

Who when she lookt aside, *she saw me standing by her in the same battlement.* How should this chance now, but that thine cares were bent towards the requests of her heart.

2. O thou God omnipotent, who hast such special care of every one of us, as if thou hadst care but of one alone; and so regardest all, as if but single persons. How came this about also, that when she had told me this Vision, and I would have interpreted it, *That she should not despaire of being one day of my opinion;* she presently, without any sticking at replies; No (saith she) *it was not told me that thou art where he is, but where thou art, there he is.* I confesse to thee, O Lord, that to the best of my remembrance (which I have oft spoken of) I was then the more moved at that answer of my vigilant mother, that she was not put out of conceit by the likelihood of my forced interpretation, and that upon the very instant she apprehended as much of it as was truly to be discerned (which I my self verily had not perceived, before she spake.) I was more moved (I say) at that, than with her dreame it self; by which the joy of that holy woman, to be fulfilled so long after, was, for the consolation of her present anguish, so long before foresignified.

3. For nine full yeares passed after that, in all which I tumbled up and downe in the mud of that deep pit, and the darknesse of that false beleefe, and when I endeavoured to rise, the violent lier was I flung downe againe. All which time that chaste, godly, and sober widow (such thou lovest) more cheered up with hope, though now whit flackned in weeping and mourning, failed not all houres of her set prayers to bewaile my case unto thee. And her prayers found

entrance then into thy fight, yet notwithstanding thou sufferedst me to be tumbled yet againe, and to be all over involved in that mist of *Manichisme*.

CHAP. XII.

The answer his mother received from a Bishop, concerning his conversion.

1. **A**ND thou gavest her another answer in the mean time, which I now remember: and yet I passe over many a one, for that I make haste to those things which more presse me to confesse unto thee, and many have I also forgotten. Thou affordedst her another answer therefore by a certaine Priest of thine, a Bishop brought up in thy Church, and well studied in thy Bookes. Whom when this woman had intreated that he would vouchsafe to have some conference with me, as well to unteach me what was false, as to instruct me in what was sound (for this office she ever and anon did for me, as she found men fit for such an undertaking) but he refused it, and in truth discreetly too, as I better afterwards perceived. For his answer was, that I was yet unripe for instruction, for that I was yet puffed up with the new taken-in heresie, and that I had already troubled divers unskillfull persons, with spurring of questions to them, as she had already told him: but let him alone a while (saith he) only pray to God for him, he will of himself by reading finde his own mistake, and how great his impietie is.

2. The Bishop then up and told her, how himself, when he was a little one, had been by his seduced mother committed to the *Manichæes*, and how he had not only read over almost all, but also coppied out
thei

their books, and that it appeared to him (without the help of any man to dispute against, or convince it) how much that Sect was to be avoyded; and how of himself therefore he had forsaken it. Which words when he had spoken, and she would not yet be satisfied; but pressed more upon him, what with intreating, and what with weeping, that he would be pleased to see me, and discourse with me; he, a little displeased at her tedious importunity, *Go thy wayes* (saith he) *and God blesse thee, for it is not possible that the son of these teares should miscary.* Which answer she then tooke (as she often remembred in our familiar discourse afterwards) as if an oracle had resounded from Heaven.

S A I N T
A V G V S T I N E S
C O N F E S S I O N S.

The Fourth BOOKE.

C H A P. I.

How long, and what wayes he seduced others.

FOR the space of nine years then (that is, from the nineteenth year of mine age, to the eight and twentieth) we were seduced our selves, and others we seduced; deceived, and deceiving in divers lusts; and in publike we did

did it by thoſe *Arts* which are called *liberall*, but in private we ſtill pretended the assumed name of Religion. Here were we proud, there ſuperſtitious, every where vain; ſtill hunting after the empty noiſe of popular reputation, even affecting thoſe *Theatrical* burnings and applauſes, and thoſe contentious ſtrifes of wit, and to gain the gawdy garlands, and the vanity of ſhewing our ſelves upon the ſtage; and the intemperancy of ambition. But much deſiring then to purge our ſelves from theſe our naturall corruptions, by the help of thoſe who were called *cleer* and *holy*, we carried them certain choſen meats, out of which in the worke houſe of their own paunches, they ſhould forge certain *Angels* and *Gods*, by whom we were to be cleaſed. Theſe things did I then follow, theſe things did I then praſtiſe with my friends, who were deceived by me, and with me.

2. Let ſuch deride me now, who are arrogant, and

a *Juſt thus* doe the Puritanes of our dayes; ſome champions they have that are ſtill ſcribbling, and others bragging in their conventicles, how able they are to confute the Adverſary: but in private houſes they pretend ſanctity and long Prayers, and ſtill ſeem Zealens againſt the pretended imperfections of the Church, times, and governors, temporall and ſpiritual. b It was the old faſhion to humme, and give low plauditees with the hand, to their Orators and Preachers; as may be ſeene in Saint Baſile, and Saint Chryſoſtome. c It was the Roman cuſtome to chraiſe upon the ſtage or in publike their owne compoſures (which they call'd *Reponere*;) before they ſet forth copies of them, which when they did, they were ſaid, *Edere*. *Tunc edere ſpectaculum*, & *edere librum*. *Semper ego audi* *hunc ſacramentum* *iniquamque reponam*; *Juv.* * He derides in this wicked Sacrament of the Manichees, in which they thought to imitate the receiving and benefit of the Lords Supper. They had a choſen illow, conſecrated by their rit; and they hoped by it to bee purged, and as it was ſaid to God.

not yet savingly cast down, nor broken in heart by thee, O my God; but I for all this, do here confesse mine own shame to thee in thy prayie. Suffer me I beseech thee, and give me grace to run over in my present remembrance the errors of my forepassed time, and to offer up unto thee the sacrifice of rejoycing. For what am I without thee, but a guide to mine own downfall? or what am I even at the best, but an infant sucking thy milk, and feeding upon thee the food incorruptible? But what kinde of thing is any man, seeing at the best he is but a man? Let now the strong and the mighty laugh at us, but let us weak and needy soules ever confesse unto thee.

C H A P. II.

He teaches Rhetorick, and despiseth a Wizard, who promised him the victory.

1. I Taught in those years the Art of Rhetorick, and my self being overcome with a desire of gain, made sale of a loquacity, to overcome others by. Yet I desired rather (Lord thou knowest) to have honest scholars (as they are now adayes accounted) and those without all deceipt, I taught how to deceive, not that I would have them plead against the life of any *innocent* person, though sometimes to save the life of the *nocent*. And thou, O God, from afar perceivedst me falling in that slippery course, and in much speech sparkling out some small faith, which I then made shew of in that School-mastership of mine, to those that loved vanity, and becoming the companion to

As this base Lawyer would tempt us, who think they may under any mans life, cause, or reputation, sell us for their Clients; say or unsay any thing for their Client.

these

those that sought a lie. In those dayes I kept a *Mistress*, whom I knew carnally, not in that lawful way of marriage; but the way found out by wandring lust, utterly voyd of understanding: yet had I but that one, towards whom, I truly kept the promise of the *Bed*: in whom I might by mine own example learne experience, what difference there would be betwixt the knot * of the marriage-covenant, mutually consented unto, for the desire of children, and the bargain of a lustfull love, where though children be against our wills begotten, yet being borne, they even compell us to love them.

1. I remember once, that when I had a minde to put forth my selfe for the prize in a *Theatricall Poeme*, I was demanded by I know not what *wizard*, what I would give him to be assured to win the garland: but I detestingly and abhorring such filthy compacts, returned him nothing; That though the garland were immortall, and of gold, yet would I not suffer a flie to lose its selfe to gain me the better of it. For he was to kill certain living creatures in those his sacrifices, and by those honour to invite the Devils to favour me in the peoples *acclamations*. But this ill meanes I refused not out of any chaste reservation towards thee, O God of my heart, for then knew I not how to love thee, who knew not how to think on any thing but certain * *Corporall Glories*. And did not my soul, panting after such fond fictions, commit fornication against thee, trust in false hopes, and feed upon the words of *Hell* 12. 1. But I would not (forsooth) that he

* *I reade it Nodum, and not Modum.* * He alludes to the *Martian*, who thought God and the Angels to be but *luscious bodies*.

should do sacrifice to the Devils for me, and yet did I my selfe offer unto them, even by that my superstition. For, to feed upon the winde, what is it else but to feed them, that is, by our own errors to make our selves the subjects of their pleasure and derision?

CHAP. III.

Giving himself to Astrologie, he is reclaimed by an ancient Physitian.

1. **T**Hose * *Star-gazers* therefore, whom they stile *Mathematicians*, I verily did not forbear to consult with; and that because they used no sacrifice, nor directed their prayers to any Spirit to speed their Divinations: and yet doth christian and true piety consequently refuse and condemn that Art. For, it is a good thing to confesse unto thee, and to say, *Have mercy upon me, heal my soul: for I have sinned against thee: Psal. 41. 4.* and not to abuse thy kindnesse for a liberty of sinning, but to remember our Lords warning, *Behold thou art made whole, sin no more lest a worse thing come unto thee. Iohn 5. 14.* All which wholesome advice they endeavor to overthrow, that say, *The cause of thy sin is inevitably determined in heaven; and that Man, flesh and blood, and proud corruption be kept without sin, is of Venus doing forsooth; or Saturn or Mars procured it; mean while the Creator of Heaven and Stars bears the blame of it, and who is he but our God, the very sweetnesse and well-spring of Righteousnesse, who shalt render to every man according to his works: Rom. 2. 6.* and a broken and contrite heart wilt thou not despise. *Psal 51. 17.*

* The old Translator is often mistaken in this Chapter.

2. There was in those dayes a wise Gentleman, very skillfull in *Physick*, and famous for his *Art*, who being at that time *Proconsull*, had with his own hand put the Garland upon my distempered head, but not as a Physician: for this disease thou only curest, who *refleest the proud; and givest grace to the humble*: *Lam. 4. 6.* But didst thou fail me by that old Physician, or forbarest to heal my soul? For in regard I grew more acquainted with him, and that I diligently and firmly depended upon his advice; for he delivered it in neat terms, full of quick sentences, both pleasant, and grave withall. Who, when he had gathered by my discourse, that I was given to study the books of the *Trinity*, *asters*, and *figure-singers*, he curiously and fatherly advised me to cast them all away, and that I should not hereafter in vain bestow my care or diligence (which was necessary for more usefull things) upon that vain study: affirming withall, that himself had in his younger years studied that *Art*, with a purpose to get his living by it; hoping if he could once have understood *Hypocrates*, he might attain to understand that kind of learning also; and that he had given it over, and wholly betaken himself to *Physick*; for no other reason, but that he found it most deceitful; & he being a grave man, would not get his living by cheating of people. But thou (saith he) hast the profession of *Rhetorick* to maintain thy self by, whereas thou followest this study voluntarily, nor driven to it by necessity: so much the more then oughtest thou to give me

This was part of the Proconsuls office in the Roman Provinces, to be Judge of these kinds of Exercises: and in these lesser Cities so far from Rome, a mean man might be Proconsull. The old Translator turns Proconsull in the place of the Consull, ignorantly.

credit

credit in this point who labored to attain to perfection in it, out of a purpose meerly to get my living by it.

3. Of whom when I had demanded what the reason was then, why so many true things should be foretold by it? He answered me (as well as he could) That the force of *Chance*, diffused round about in the nature of things, brought this about. For if when a man had by hap-hazard consulted the books of some Poet, who sang of, and intended clean another matter, the Verses did oftentimes fall out wondrously agreeable to the present businesse: it were not then to be wondred at (saith he) if out of the soul of man (by some higher instinct) knowing nothing what is done within it self, some answer should be given, which more by hap than any good cunning, should have agreement to the businesse and actions of the commander. And thus much truly, either from, or by him, thou then wroughtest for me, and then decyphered in my memory, what of my self I should seek out afterwards. But yet at that time neither he, nor my most dear *Nebrius*, (a very good-dispositioned young man, and very cautelous, who utterly derided that whole manner of *Divination*) could perswade with me to cast away those studies, even because the authority of the very Authors overswayed more with me, and that I had not yet light upon any demonstrative argument (such as I sought for) whereby it might clearly, and without all doubtfullnesse appear, that what had been truly fore-told by those *Masters* of the Science, were spoken by fortune or by chance, and not out of the sure Art of the *Star-gazers*.

CHAP IIII.

He relates the sickness and baptisme of his Friend, whom himselfe had infected with heresie: he grievously laments his death.

1. **I**N those yeares when I first of all began to teach Rhetorike in the Town where I was borne, I gained a very deare friend, upon the occasion of the neerenesse of our studies; one he was, about mine owne age, now springing up with me in the flower of youth. He had growne up of a child with me, and both schoole-fellowes, and play-fellowes we had been. But yet was he not so truly my friend, no nor of later times neither, as true friendship should be indeed; for true it cannot be, unlesse thou sodereest it betwixt such parties as cleave together unto thee, by that love which is shed abroad in our hearts by the Holy Ghost, which is given unto us, Rom. 5. 5. But yet a very sweet friendship it was, being ripened by the heat of the equality of our studies: For, from the true faith, (which he being a Youth, had been soundly and thoroughly grounded in) I now had warpt him, even towards those selfe-same superstitious and pernicious Fables, for which my Mother bewailed my condition. With me now erred the minde of that man, nor could my soule be without him. But behold thou, ever at the backes of thy Runawaies, *The God of revenge, and Father of mercies*, Pl. 94. 1. both at the same time, who turnest us to thy self by most wonderfull means, tookest that man out of this life, when he had scarce continued one whole yeere in my friendship, sweet to mee above all sweetnesse of this life.

2. What one man is able to recount all thy praises, which he hath felt in himselfe alone? What was it thou then

then didest, my God, and how unsearchable is the bottomlesse depth of thy Judgements? For when as one day, sore sicke of his Feaver, he lay senselesse in a deadly sweat, and all despairing of his recoverie, he was baptized, unwitting to himselfe; my selfe meane while little regarding, and presuming that his soule would have retained rather what it had received of me, and not what was now wrought in the body of him that knew * nothing of it. But it fell out farre otherwise: for he became refreshed, and recovered his health upon it: For when as soone as ever I could come to speake with him; (and I could, so soone as he was able: for I had never yet gone from him, and we very neerely depended one upon another) I offered to scoffe, as if he also would have scoffed with me for company, at that Baptisme which he, being most absent both in understanding and feeling, had lately received, but had now understood that he had received. But he lookt with as great indignation upon me, as I had been his mortall enemy; and with an admirable and sudden freedome of language, advised me, that if I purposed to continue his friend, I should forbear such talke to him.

3. But I all astonied and amazed, put off the disclosing of my private commotions, till he should grow well againe, and had recovered so much strength of health, that he were fit for me to deal with, as I would my selfe. But he was taken away from my parenzie, that with thee hee might be preserved for my future comfort; falling in my absence a few dayes after into a relapse of his Feaver, and was parted away from me. At the griefe of this, my heart was utterly over-clouded; and whatsoever I cast mine eye

* The wonderfull effect of the Sacrament of Baptisme.

upon,

upon, lookt like death unto me. Mine owne Country was a very Prison to me, and my Fathers house a wonderfull unhappinesse; and whatsoever I had communicated in with him, wanting him, turned to my most cruell torture. Mine eyes rev'd about every where for him, but they met not with him; and I hated all places, for that they had not him; nor could they now tell me, *Behold he will come shortly*, as when he was alive they did, when-ever he was absent. I became a great examiner of my selfe, and I often asked over my soule, why she was so sad, and why she afflicted me so sorely: but shee knew not what to answer me. Then said I to my soule, Put thy trust in God; but very justly she did not obey me; because that most deare man, whom she had lost, was both truer and better, than that *pharasaicall* God she was bid to trust in. Only teares were sweet to me, * for they had now succeeded in my friends place, in the dearest of my affections.

* *A rare conceipt.*

CHAP. V.

Of teares in our prayers for, and bewailing of the thing beloved.

1. **A**ND now, Lord, are these things wel passed over, and time hath alwaged the anguish of my wound. May I learn this from thee, who art *Truth*, and may I apply the ear of my heart unto thy mouth, that thou maist tel me the reason, why weeping should be so sweet to people in misery? Hast thou (notwithstanding thou art present every where) cast away our misery farre from thee? & thou remainest constant in thy selfe, but we are tumbled up & down in divers tryals: & yet un-
lesse

lesse we should bewail our selves in thine eares, there should no hope remain for us. How comes it then to passe that such sweet fruit is gathered from the bitter tree of a miserable life, namely to mourn, and weep, and sigh, and complain? Is it this that sweetens it, that we are in hope *thou hearest us*? This may be rightly thought of our prayers, because they have a desire to approach unto thee. But may it be so said too concerning that grief and mourning for the thing lost, with which I was then wholly overwhelmed? For I could not hope he should now revive again, nor did I desire this with all my teares; but bemoan him only I did, and weep for him: seeing a wretch I was, and had utterly lost all my joy. Or is weeping a bitter thing, and yet out of a full gorgednesse of what we before enjoyed, and in the very instant while we are a loathing of them, can it be pleasing to us?

CHAP VI.

He tels with what great affection he loved his friend.

BUT what speak I of these things? for tis no time to ask questions, but to confesse unto thee. Wretched I was; and wretched is every soul that is engaged in the friendship of mortall things; he becomes all to pieces when he foregoes them, and then first he becomes sensible of his misery, by which he is already miserable, even before he forgoes them. This was my case at that time; I wept full bitterly, and yet was best at quiet in that bitterness. Thus was I wretched enough, and that wretched life I accounted more dear then my friend himself. For though I would gladly have exchanged it, yet as unwilling I was to forgoe that, as I had been to lose him; yea, I knew

not

not whether I would have forgone that, even to have enjoyed him. * Like as the tradition (if it be not a fiction) goes of *Pilades* and *Orestes*, who would gladly have dyed one for another, or else both together, it being to them worse then death not to live together. But I know not what kind of affection prevailed with me, w^{ch} was too much contrary to theirs, for both grievously tedious to me it was to live, and yet fearfull it was to die. I suppose that how much the more affectionately I loved him, so much the more did I both hate, and fear (as my cruellest enemy,) death, which had bereaved me of him: and I imagined it would speedily make an end of all other men, because it had the power to do of him. Even thus I well remember, stood I then affected.

3. Behold my heart, O my God, yea, search it thoroughly; search it, because I remember it well, O my Hope, who cleansest me from the impurity of such affections, directing mine eyes towards thee, and plucking my feet out of the snare. For I much admired that other mortals did live, since he whom I so loved, as if he never should have died, was now dead: yea, I more admired that *my self*, who was to him a *second self*, should be able to live after him. Well said he of his friend, *Thou half of my soul*: for I still thought my soul and his soul to have been but one soul in two bodies: and therefore was my life a very horror to me, because I would not live by halves. And even therefore perchance I was afraid to die, lest he should wholly die, vvhom so passionately I had loved.

* The old Translator confounds these two sentences. * The conceits Saint Augustine Retracted afterwards, Retracted lib. 2, cap. 6.

CHAP. VII.

The impatientnes of grief constraines us to shift our dwellings.

1. O Madnesse, which knowest not how to love men, as men should be loved! O foolish man, which so impatiently endurest the chances mortality subject unto! Thus mad and foolish was I at that time. I herfore I storm'd, and pufte, and cried, and stumbled, being capable neither of *Rest* nor *Counsell*. For I was faine to uphold my shattered, and blood-blubbered * soul, which yet had nor patience enough to be supported by me, yet a place where to dispose of it, I could not light upon. Not in the delightfull faires, nor where mirth and musick was, nor in the odoriferous Gardens, nor in curious Banquettings, nor in the pleasures of the Bed and Chambering; nor (finally) in reading over either *Verse* or *Prose*, took it any contentment. Every thing was offensive, yea, the very light it self; and whatsoever were not as he was, was alike painfull and hatefull to me, except groaning and weeping. For only in those found I a little refreshment.

2. But so soon as I had retired my soul from them, a huge weight of misery over-loaded me, which thou only couldest ease and lighten, O Lord. I knew thus much, and yet indeed I vvould not, nor vvvas I able; for thou vvett not any solid or substantiall thing unto me, vvhen in those dayes I thought upon thee. For not thou thy self, but mine ovyn idle phantasie and error vvere then my God. If I offered to discharge my barthen upon that, to give it some easement, it fell as it vvere into the empty ayr, and came tumbling again upon me: vvhereupon I remained so unfortu-

* Conscissam & cruentatam, (non cruentam) animam.

nate a place to my selfe, as there I could neither stay, nor get away from it. For whither should my heart flye from my heart? Whither was it possible to flye from mine owne selfe? Whither should I not have followed my selfe? And yet after all this, out of my Countrey I fled: for so should mine eyes lesse looke for him there, where they were not wont to see him. And thus I left *Tagaſte*, and came to *Carthage*.

CHAP. VIII.

Time cures Sorrow.

1. **T**imes lose no time; nor doe they idly goe and returne about these senses of ours; but they cause strange operations in our minds. Behold, they went and came day by day, & by going and coming to and again, they brought into my mind other notions, and other remembrances, and by little & little peec'd me up again with my old kind of delights, unto which my present sorrow gave some way. And yet to that againe there succeeded, though not other griefs, yet the causes of other griefes. For how came that former grief so easily and so deeply to make impression in me, but even from hence, that I had spilt my soule upon the sand, in loving a man that must once dye, as if he never had been to dye? For the comfortings of other friends did mostly repaire and refresh me, with whom I did love, what for thy sake I did not love: and this was a great Fable, and a long lye; by the impure^{*} repetition whereof, our soule which lay itching in our eares, was wholly corrupted.

^{*} This passage hath the old Translators rendered very mannerly, and I have followed him.

2. But that Fable would not yet dye with me, so
 as any of my friends died. But there were some
 other things which in my friends company did take
 my minde; namely to discourtie, and to laugh with
 them, and to do obsequious offices of courtesie one to
 another; to reade pretty books together, sometimes to
 be in jest, and other whiles seriously honest to one
 another; sometimes to dissent without discontent,
 as a man would do with his own self, and even with
 the seldomness of those dissentings, season our more
 frequent consentings; sometimes would we teach,
 and sometimes learn one of another; with for the
 company of the absent with impatience; and wel-
 come home the new commers with joyfulness. With
 these and the like expressions, proceeding out of the
 hearts of those that loved and repaired one anothers
 affections, by the countenance, by the tongue, by the
 eyes, and by a thousand other most pleasing motions,
 did we **soder or run*, as it were, our soules together,
 and made but one out of many.

**Conflare, & facere: Here the Infinitive Mood is put for
 the Preterimperfect tense plural: He alludes to the run-
 ning or melting of glasse or mettals together.*

CHAP. IX.

The comparing of humane friendship with divine.

THIS is it now which a man loves in our friends;
 and so loves it, that he must in conscience con-
 fesse himself guilty, if he should not love him that
 loves him again; or not love that man again that
 loves him first, expecting no other thing from him
 besides the pure demonstration of his love. Hence is
 the mourning when ever a friend dies, yea, those o-
 vercastings

vercastings of sorrowes, that sleeping of the heart in
 reares, all sweetnesse utterly turned into bitternesse.
 hence too upon the losse of the life of the dying, comes
 the death of the living. But blessed is the man that
 loves thee, and his friend in thee, and his enemy for
 thee. For he alone loses none that is dear unto him,
 to whom all are dear, in him that can never be lost.
 And who is this but our God, the God that made
 heaven & earth, & who filleth them, because in filling
 them he created them? Thee, no man loses, but he that
 lets thee go. And he that lets thee go, whither goes he
 or whither runs he, but from thee well-pleased, back
 to thee offended? For where shall not such a one find
 thy Law fulfilled in his own punishment? *And thy Law*
is truth, and Truth is thy self, Job. 17. 17.

CHAP. X. *All beauty is from God, who is to be praised for all.*

1. *Turn us O God of Hosts, shew us the light of thy*
countenances, and we shall be whole. For which
 way soever the soul of man turns it self, unlesse to-
 wards thee, it is even rivetted into dolours. Yet
 though it settles it self upon beautifull objects without
 thee, and without it self: which Beauties were no
 beauties at all; unlesse they were from thee.
 They rise, and set; and by rising, they begin to have
 Being; they grow up, that they may attain perfecti-
 on, which having attained, they wax old and wither;
 for grow old all must, and all must wither too. There-
 fore when they spring up, and tend towards a Being,
 look how much more hast they make to Bee, so much
 the more they make not to Bee. This is the Law
 of them. Thus much hast thou bequeathed them, because
 they

they are *parcels* of things, which are not extant all at once time, but which by *delaying* and *succeeding*, do altogether play the part of the whole *universe*, whereof they are the *parcels*. And even thus is our speech delivered by sound *significant*: for it will never be a perfect sentence, unless one word gives way when it hath sounded his part, that another may succeed it.

2. And by them let my soul praise thee, O God, creator of things; but yet let not my soul be fastned unto these things with the glew of love through the senses of my body. For these things go, whither they were purposely to go, that they might no longer be; & they cleave the soul in sunder, with most pestilent desires: even because the soul earnestly desires to be one with them, and loves finally to rest in these things which she loves. But in those things she findes not settlement, which are still fleeing, because they stand not ever at the same stay: and who is he that can follow them with the senses of his own flesh? yea, who is able to overtake them, when they are hard by him?

3. For the sense of our flesh is slow, even because it is the sense of our flesh: and its self is its own measure. Sufficient enough it is, for the end it is made for; but it is not sufficient for this, namely to hold it a stay things running of course from their appointed *starting place*, to their *Races end*. For in thy Word by which they were created, they hear this signal, *From hence*, and even *thus far*.

Latin *comparison and expression*. Quoniam animalis esse volens, non potest, for the soul desires to be, *of the flesh*. Ab initio debito, usque ad finem debi-

CHAPTER XI.

All things are created mutable in themselves, and immutable in God.

1. **B**E not foolish O my soul, and make not the ear of thine heart deaf with the tumult of folly. But hearken now, the word it self calls to thee to return: for there is the place of quiet, nor to be disturbed, where *thy love* can never be forsaken, if it self leaves not off to *love*. Behold these things give way, that other things may come in their places, that so this lower world may at last have all his parts. But do I ever depart, saith the Word of God? There, let up thy dwelling, trust there whatsoever thou hast left, O my soul; especially since thou art at length tired out with these uncertainties. Recommend over unto *truth*, whatsoever thou hast left of *truth*; and thou shalt lose nothing by the bargain; yea, *thy desires* shall flourish again, and all thy *languishments* shall be recovered; thy *sadings* shall be refreshed, shall be renewed, and shall be made to continue with thee; nor shall they put thee down to the place whither themselves descend; but they shall stay with thee, & stand fast for ever before that God, who himself *stales* and stands fast for ever.

2. Why now my perverse soul wilt thou be still following thine own flesh? Let that rather turn and follow thee. Whatever by her thou hast sense of, is but in part; and the *whole*, whereof these are *parts*, thou knowest not; and yet this little contentes thee. But had the sense of thy flesh been capable of comprehending the whole, and not for thy punishment been stinted to a part of the whole; thou wouldest have been desired, that whatsoever hath *existence* at this present,

feare, should passe away, that so the whole might better
have pleased thee altogether. For what we speake, by
the same sense of the flesh thou hearest, and yet
wouldest not thou have the same syllables sound ever,
but fly away, that others may come on, and thou
maiest hear up the whole sentence. Thus are all those
things in ever Being, which have still any one part of
theirs in being, and yet all those parts which go to the
making up of that whole Being, are never altogether
in present Being. All together surely must needs de-
light more fully, than parts single, if the pleasure of
all could be felt all at once. But farre better than
these all, is he that made all: and he is our God: nor
does he depart away, for that he hath no successor. If
bodies then please thee, praise God for them, and
turne thy love upon him that made them; lest other-
wise in those things which please thee, thou displease
him.

CHAP. XII

Love of the creatures is not forbidden, provided that
in those which please us, God bee loved.

1 If then soules please thee, let them be loved in
God: for they are mutable, but in him are they
firmly established, on els they would passe, and perill.
In him therefore let them be beloved; and draw us
to him along with thee as many soules as thou canst,
and say to them, Him let us love, let us love him; he
made all these, nor is hee farre from them. For he did
not once make them, and then get him gone, But of
him, and in him they are. See where he is, even where
ever truth is savoury. Hee is within the very heart, but
yet hath the heart strayed from him. Turne againe to

your own heart. O ye transgressors, and cleave fast unto him that made you. *Isa. 46. 8.* Stay with him, and you shall stand surely: Repose your selves in him, and ye shall rest safely. Whither go you in these craggy passages? O whither go you? The good that you love is from him; and in respect of him, it is both good and pleasant. But it shall justly be turned to bitterness, because whatsoever is from him, is unjustly loved, if he be forsaken for it.

2. Whither now wander ye further and further over these difficult and troublesome passages? There is no rest to be found where you seek it. Seek what you do seek, but yet it is not there where you are seeking for it. You seek a blessed life in the land of death, it is not there: For how should there be a happy life, where there is at all no life? But our Life descended down hither, and took away our death, and killed him, out of the abundance of his own life: and he thundered, calling unto us to return from hence to him into that secret place, from whence he came forth to us, coming first into the *Virgins* wombe, where the *Humanity* was married unto him, (even our mortall flesh, though not ever to be mortall) and thence came he like a Bridegroom out of his Chamber, rejoicing as a Giant to run his course. *Psa. 19. 5.* For he forefollowed not, but he ranne, crying both in words, deeds, death, descent, and ascension: still crying to us to return unto him. And he withdrew himself from our eyes, that we might return to our own heart, and there finde him.

3. He withdrew himselfe, and behold he is still here. He would not tarry long with us, yet hath he not utterly left us; for thither is he gone, from whence he never parted, because the world was made

him. John 1. And in this world he was, and into this world he came to save sinners, 1 Tim. 1. 15. unto whom my soul now confesseth, that he may beat it for it hath sinned against him, Pl. 41. 4. O ye sons of men how long will ye be slow of heart? will ye not now after that life is descended down to you, will not you ascend up to it and live? But whither ascended you when you were high conceived, and lifted up your head into heaven? Descend again, that you may ascend, & ascend to God. For descended you are, by ascending against him. Tell the souls whom thou lovest, thus; that they may weep in this valley of teares, and so carry them up with thee unto God, because by his Spirit thou speakest thus unto them, if speak thou doest, burning with the fire of charity.

CHAP. XIII.

Love, whence it comes.

THESE things I as then knew not, and I fell in love with these inferiour beauties, and I was sinking even to the very bottome, and unto my friends, I said, do we love any thing that is not beautiful? For what is fair? and what is beauty? what is it that inveigles us thus, and that drawes our affections to the things we love? for ulesse there were a gracefulnesse and a beauty in them, they could by no means draw us unto them. And I markt narrowly, and perceived that in the bodies themselves, there was one thing as it were the whole feature, which in that respect was beautiful, and another thing that did therefore become, because it was aptly fitted to some thing, as some part of the body, in respect of the whole body, or a shoe in respect of a foot, and the like.

like. And this consideration sprang up in my mind even out of the innermost of my very heart, and I composed certain books *De * Pulchro & Apto*, two or three as I think. Thou knowest it, O Lord, for it is out of my memory. For I have them not now by me, but lost they are, and I know not how.

* *Of Fair and Fit.*

CHAP. XIII.

Of his book of Fair and Fit.

I. **V**WAS the cause, O Lord my God, that moved me to dedicate unto *Icherius*, an O-
rator of *Rome*, these books of mine, whom as then I so much as knew not by face, but upon love to the man-meerely for the fame of his learning which was eminent in him, and some words of his that I had heard, which very well pleased me? But rather did he please me, for that they pleased others, who highly extolled him, admiring much that a *Syrian* born, brought up first in the *Greek* Eloquence, shoeld afterwards prove so wonderful a master in the *Latine* also: being above all this, a most knowing man in all the studies that pertain unto *wisdom*. A man is commended, and loved, even when he is absent: Doth then this love enter the heart of the hearer immediately from the mouth of the prayser? Nothing so. But by one lover is another inflamed. Hence comes it that he is oft loved, who is heard commended, when (namely) his worth is beleaved to be truly set forth by the unfeigned heart of the commender, that is, when he that loves him, prayset him. Thus then loved I men, upon the judgement of men, but not upon thine, O my God, in which no man is deceived.

But

But yet why not as that noble Chariotier or Huntsman so famously spoken of by our vulgar affections: no, but far otherwise, and more seriously, and even so as I would desire to be my self commended.

2. For I would by no means have my self commended or loved, in that kinde that *Stage-players* are, (though I my self did sometimes both commend and love them) but I would choose rather to have lived concealed, than to be known that way; and to be hated, than in that kinde to be beloved. Where now are these overswayings of such various and divers kindes of loves distributed in one soul? what is it that I am in love with in another man? And what again is it, that did I not hate him for, I should not detest and keep him out of my company, seeing we are men either of us? For the Comparison holds not, that as a good horse is loved by him, who would not yet be that horse, no not though he might; the same should likewise be affirmed of a *Stage-player*, who is a fellow in nature with us. Do I therefore love that in a man, which I hate to be, seeing I am a man? Man is a great deep, whose very haire thou numberest, O Lord, and they fall not to the ground without thee. Mat. 10, 29, 30. and yet are the haire of his head easier to be numbred, then are his affections, and the motions of his heart.

3. But that Orator whom I so loved was one of those that I would have wisht my self to have been: and I erred through a swelling pride, and was tossed up and down with every winde, but I was governed by thee very secretly. And how now shall I know, and how may I upon a sure ground confesse unto thee, that I loved that man more for the love of them that commended him, than for the good parts themselves, for

which he was commended? Because if the selfe same men should not have disprayed him whom they before had prayed, and by dispraying and despising him had they not told the same things of him, I should never have been so kindled and provoked to love him.

4. See where the Impotent soule lyes along, that is not yet stayed up by the solidity of *truth*. Iust as the blasts of tongues blow out of the brest of censurers, so is it carryed this way and that way, tumbled and tossed up and downe, and the light is so beclouded, that it can never discern the truth: And yet it is right before us. I conceived to purchase some great credit by it, if my stile & meditations might but be knowne to that famous man: which should he allow of, then were I more on fire: but if he disapproved, this vaine heart of mine, utterly voyd of thy solidity, had beene cut to the quick at it. And yet that subject of *Faith* and *Fit*, upon which I wrote to him, my meditations gladly laboured upon, and though I wanted others to commend it, yet did I my selfe admire it.

CHAP. XV.

How his understanding being overshadowed with corporeall Images, he could not discern the spirituall.

1. **B**UT I could not all this while discover the main point of the businesse in that *artfull* carriage of thine, O thou Omnipotent, who onely doest great wonders: and my conceit ranged through *corporeall forms*; as *Faith*, that is so absolutely of it selfe; and *Fit*, which becomes gracefull, when applyed to some other thing: and I defined, and distinguished, and confirmed my argument by *corporeall* examples. I set my studie afterwards to consider of the nature of the Soule, but that

that false opinion which I had already entertained concerning *spirituall* matters, would not let me discover the truth, yet the force of truth did ever and anon flash into mine eyes, but I turned away my panting soule from all *incorporeall* substances, setting it upon *lineaments*, and *colours*, and *swelling quantities*. And for that I was not able to see all these in my soule, I verily beleeved that I could not see that soule of mine. And whereas in *vertue* I loved peace, and in *vitiousnesse* I abhorred discord: in the first I observed an *Unity*, but *division* ever to be in this. And in that *Unity*, I conceive the nature both of *truth*, and of our chiefest *goodnesse* to consist: but in this *division*, silly I imagined, I know not what substance of an *inivisionall* life, & the nature of the greatest *evill*, which should not only be a *substance*, but a very true *life* also: and yet not at all depend on thee, O my God, of whom are all things. And yet that first I called *Unity*, as if it had been a Soule with *Sex*; but the latter I styled a *Duality* (or a *Division*), which should bee *Malign*, in *unmanly cruelties*; and *lust* in *beastly impurities*; little knowing what I talked of *.

*He alludes to the Manichees error, which had infected them. The old Translator jumbles two sentences into one. *He alludes to the Manichees foolish Philosophicall Division, which notwithstanding that the soule and it's Faculties were created all at once, and all good, (till corrupted by the Fall,) yet they made the Soule onely to be good, from which vertue came, which they called unity; for that the soule was but one: but the powers of the soule, they (having an eye only to the Fall, and not to the Creation) made to be absolutely and originally Evill, and the causes of all Evill. Such were these two powers of the Sensitive Appetite, the Concupiscible and the Irascible: (of which they made their Duality or Division) whereof nature intended the first, (the Concupiscible or Longing appetite) for the conservation of the Kind, and the pleasant or well being of it, and the Irascible, or angry appetite, for

for the defence of the Concupiscible : by which we are
 angry at, and resist whatsoever hinders our well being. The
 use of both together is to procure good and to
 shun evill, for soule and body. Both these Appetites be
 in the motive faculty of the Sensitive Soule: by these the soule
 moves her selfe on, or from, the desired or abhored object.
Errata in old Translations much mistakes for want of Philosophers.

2. For I had not as yet either knowne or learned,
 that neither was any substance evill, or that our owne
 soule, was not that chiefest and unchangable
 goodnesse. For even as those are to be called *facinorosa*,
 that is, *bold*, heinous, and desperate deeds, if so be
 that motion of the soule in which the force of the Ap-
 petite now is, be vicious or corrupted, stirring it selfe
 insolently and unrulily : and those are to be stiled
Flagitia, Crimes, or naughty actions, when that af-
 fection of the soule, by which carnall pleasures are
 taken into resolution, by any way immoderate or
 disorderly. And thus doe *Errours* & false opinions de-
 file the conversation, if so be that the reasonable soule
 it selfe be viciously disposed ; as it was in me at that
 time, when I was utterly ignorant of any other light
 to illustrate it by, to make it partaker of the Truth,
 seeing of it selfe it is not that Nature of Truth. For
 thou shalt light my candle, O Lord my God, thou shalt en-
 lighten my darknesse : and of thy fullnesse have we all re-
 ceived, for thou art the true light that lighteth every man
 that cometh into the world ; for that in thee there is no
 variablenesse, neither shadow of change. Psal. 18. 28.
 Iohn 1. 16. 9. Iam. 1. 16. 1 Pet 5. 5. But I pressed
 towards thee, and was as fast thrust from thee, that I
 might taste of death : for thou resistest the proud.

3. And what could be prouder, than for me with
 a wonderfull madnesse to maintaine, my selfe to be that
 by nature which thou thy selfe art ? For whereas my
 selfe

selfe was *mutable*, (so much appearing manifestly
unto me, in that I became so ambitious to grow wiser,
that of worse I might so prove better;) yet chose I
rather to imagine thee to be mutable, than my selfe
not to be that which thou wert. Therefore gavest thou
me the repulse, and thou cursedst my unconstant
stiff-neckednesse, and I fancied to my self certain
corporeall formes, and being flesh, I accused flesh;
and being a wayfaring *spirit*, I did not turn towards
thee, but went nuddling on and on towards those
fancies which have no being, neither in thee, nor in
me, nor in any body. For they were not created for
me by thy Truth, but devised meerly by mine own
vain conceipt, *fancying out a body*. And I demanded
of thy faithfull little ones, my fellow-Citizens, (from
whom unbeknowing to my self I stood exiled) I put
the question to them, I say, (prating and foolish man
that I was!) *Why therefore doth the soul erre which
God hath created?* But I would endure upon no
termes, any one should demand of me, *Why therefore
doth God erre?* And I stiffly maintained, that thy
unchangeable substance rather did erre upon constraint, than
be brought to confesse mine own changeable sub-
stance to have gone astray voluntarily, or gone any
thing neer it.

4. I was at that time perchance six or seven and
twenty year old when I composed these Volumes;
canvassing up and down with my self these *corporeall
fictions*, which were still buzzing in the eares of my
heart, (which eares I intended rather, O sweet Truth,
to hearken after thy inward melody) plodding all this
time upon my *Fair and Fit*, and desiring to stay, and
to hearken to thee, and to rejoyce exceedingly at the
voice of thy *Spouse*, but could not bring my self to it;

for

for by the cals of mine own errors, I was drawn out of myself, and oppress'd with the weight of my own proud conceits, I sunk into the lowest pit. For thou didst not make me to bear joy and gladnesse, that the bones which thou hadst not yet enough broken might rejoice, Psal. 51. 8.

CHAP. XVI.

The admirable aptnesse to Learning, and the great understanding S. Augustine had.

AND what was I the better for it, when scarce twenty years old, that Book of Aristotles *Predicaments* falling into my hands, (of which my Rhetorick master of Carthage, and others, esteemed very good Schollars, would be cracking with full mouths.) I earnestly, & with much suspence gap't upon it at first, as upon I know not what deep and divine piece; but read it over afterwards, yea, and attained the understanding of it, by my self alone. And comparing my Notes afterwards with theirs, who protested how hardly they gat to understand the Book from very able Tutors, not dictating to them only by word of mouth, but taking paines also to delineate out in the dust the

** Multa in pulvere depingentibus. Which the Other Translator turns, writing them in the dust: noting in his margin, that it was a manner of writing then used. Boldly affirmed, I dare say there was never such a manner of writing. But thus it was; The Mathematicians had their pulverem Mathematicum, dust in linen baggs, which seited, or powdered upon a board, they drew their Schemes and Diagrams upon, to make ocular demonstration withall, either for their own use or their Schollars. This they could easily and cheaply put in and out again. Archimedes was taken in his study, drawing his Mathematicall Lines in such dust.*

Schemes

schemes and demonstrations of it; they could reach no more of it then I had observed before upon mine own reading. And it seemed plain enough to my capacity, when they discoursed of Substances, such as Man is, &c. of the Accidents inhering to these Substances; as for example, the figure of a man, how qualified he was, &c. of what shape & stature, how many foot high, and his relation to his kindred, whose brother he is, or where placed, or when born, or whether he stands or sits, or be shod or armed, or does or suffers any thing; and whatsoever to be learned besides in these nine Predicaments, (of which I have given these former examples) or these other innumerable observations in that chief Predicament of Substance.

2. What now did all this further me, seeing with all it as much hindered me? when as I took pains to understand thee, O my God, (whose Essence is most wonderfully simple, and unchangeable,) imagining whatsoever had being, to be comprehended under those ten Predicaments: as if thy self had been subject to thine own Greatnesse or Beauty; and that these two had an inherence in thee, like Accidents in their Subject, or as in a Body, whereas thy greatnesse & beauty is thy Essence; but a body is not great or fair in that regard as it is a body, seeing that though it were lesse great or fair, yet should it be a body notwithstanding. But it was a meer falshood which of thee I had conceived, and no truth; a very fiction of mine own folly, and no solid ground of thy happiness. For thou hadst given forth the command, and so it came to passe in me, that my earth should bring forth bryars and thornes in me, and that in the sweat of my browes I should eat my bread.

3. And what was I the better, that I the vile slave

to wicked affections; read over by my self, and understood all the books of those Sciences, which they call *liberall*, as many as I could cast mine eye upon. And that I took great delight in them, but knew not all this while whence all that came; whatsoever was *true*, or *certain* in them. For I stood with my back to the light, and with my face toward these things which received that light: and therefore my face, with which I discerned these things that were *illuminated*, was not in selfe *illuminated*. Whatever was written, either of the Art of *Rhetorick*, or *Logicke*, whatever of *Geometry*, *Musick*, and *Arithmetick*, I attained the understanding of by my selfe, without any great difficulty, or any instructor at all, as thou knowest, O Lord my God; even because the *quicknes* of conceiving, and the *sharpnesse* of disputing is thy gift: and yet did I not sacrifice any part of it to thy acknowledgement. All this therefore served not me to any good employment, but to my destruction rather, since I went about to get so good a part of my portion into mine owne custody; and I preserved not mine owne abilities entire for thy service, but wandering into a farre Country, to spend it there upon my *Harlotries*. For what good did it me, to have good abilities, and not employ them to good uses? For I understood not that those *Arts* were attained with great difficulty, even by those that were very studious and ingenuous Schollers, untill that my * selfe going about to interpret them in others hearing, he was held the most excellent at them, who was able to follow me with least *slownesse*.

* He alludes to the Prodigall, Luk. 15. * O wonderful nature of S. Augustine.

4. But what at last did all this benefit me, thinking all this while, that thou, O Lord my God of truth, wert nothing but a vast & bright Body, & my selfe some piece of that Body? O extreame perver-
sifse! but in that case was I then, nor do I blush, O my God to confesse thy mercies towards me, and to call upon thee, who blushed not then openly to professe be-
fore men mine owne blasphemies, & to barke against thee. What good did then my nimble wit, able to run over all those *Sciences*; and all those most knotty Vo-
lumes, made easie to me, without helpe or light from any Tutor; seeing I erred so fouly, and with so much sacrilegious shamefulness in the *Doctrine of Piety*? Or what hinderance was a farre slower wit to thy
little ones, seeing they straggled not so far from thee, but that in the Nest of thy Church they might securely plume themselves, and nourish the wings of charity,
by the food of a solid faith.

O Lord our God, under the shadow of thy wings let us hope, defend thou, and hold us up. Thou shalt beare us up, both while we are little, and when we are gray-headed: for our *weaknesse*, when 'tis from thee, then is it strength, but when 'tis of our selves, then it is *weakness* indeed. Our good still lives with thee; from which because we are *averse*, there-
fore are we *perverse*. Let us now at last, O Lord, re-
turne, that we doe not *overturue*, because with thee our Good lives without any defect, which good thou art. We shall nor need to feare, finding a place to returne un-
to, because we fell headlong from it: for however we

The Papists brag of being in the true Church, but plainly these
Chickens seldome prove more than spanse feathered, & not hard-
ened. For they want the food here spoken of, sound faith.
Traditions, Legends, feined Miracles, carnall Vowes, and one stile
justity, may puffe up, not edifie. have

have been long absent from thence, yet that house of
ours shall not fall downe; and that's thy BERNITY.

SAINT
AVGVSTINES
CONFESSIONS.

The Fifth Booke.

CHAP. I.

He stirs up his owne soule to praise God.



Receive here the Sacrifice of my Confes-
sion from the hand of my Tongue,
which thou hast formed and stirred
up to confesse unto thy Name. Heare
thou all my bones, & let them say, O
Lord who is like unto thee? for neither
doth a man teach thee what is done within himselfe
when he confesse to thee; seeing a closed heart
shuts not out thy eye, nor can mans hard-hearted-
ness thrust backe thy hand; for thou openest
when thou pleasest, either out of pittie or justice
to us, and there is nothing can hide it selfe from
thy heare. But let my soule praise thee, that it may
love thee: and let it confesse thine owne mercies to
thee, that it may praise thee. No creature of thine
is slacke nor silent in thy praises, or the spirit of
any man by the praises of his mouth converted

maker; no nor yet any animal or corporeall creature,
by the mouthes of those that well consider of them:
so our soule may towards thee rowze it selfe up
from wearines, leaning it selfe on those things which
thou hast created, and passing over to thy selfe, who
hast made them so wonderfully; where refreshment
and true fortitude is.

The manner that the goodly order and workmanship of the crea-
ture, causes those that will consider them, to open their
mouthes in prayes to God for them. The Old Translator is much
to be here, confounding both the sense and Sentences.

C H A P. II.

Thy presence can no man avoid, seeing he is every
where.

Let unquiet and naughty people now run and
flee from thee as fast as they will; yet thou seest
them well enough, and canst distinguish of their
does. And behold, all seemes gay to them, meane
while themselves be deformed. And what wrong have
they done thee by it, or how have they disparaged thy
government, which from the highest heaven to this
lowest earth, is most iust and perfect? But whether are
they fled, when they flee from thy presence? Ps. 139. 7.
Or is what corner shall not thou finde them out? But
they run away, that they might not see thee, who well
seest them, that being thus blindfolded, they might
stumble upon thee, because thou forsakest nothing
that thou hast made, that the unjust, I say, might stum-
ble upon thee, and be justly vexed by it; withdrawing
themselves from thy mercy, & stumbling at thy justice,
falling upon thy severity. Little know they in truth,
that thou art every where, whom no place incom-
pases,

les, and that thou alone art ever there, even to this
that set themselves furthest from thee.

2. Let them therefore be turned back, and let
thee; because as they have forsaken thee their Cre-
ator, thou hast not so given over thy Creature
them bee converted, that they may seeke thee, and
hold, thou art there in their heart, in the heart of
that confesse to thee, and that cast themselves
thee, and that poure forth their teares in thy bosom
after all their tedious wandrings. Then shalt thou
most gently wipe away their teares; that they may
weepe the more, yea, and delight in their weeping
even for that thou, Lord, and not any man of
and blood, but thou Lord, who madest them, can
refresh and comfort them. But whereabouts was
when I sought after thee? Thou wert directly before
mee, but I had gone back from thee; nor did I
finde my selfe, much lesse thee.

CHAP. III.

Of Faustus the Manichee: And of Astrologie.

1. **L**et me lay open before my GOD that nine
and thirtie yeere of mine Age. There came
those daies unto Carthage a certaine Bishop of
Manichee, Faustus by name, a great man of the
world he was, and many were intrangled by him in the
guine of his smooth Language, in which, though
I saw he did much commend in him, yet was I able
discerne betwixt it, and the truth of those things which
I then was earnest to learne; nor had I a way to come
to the curious Discourse of Astrologie, as when subtilties
Science, their so famous Faustus set before me
upon Report had before hand highly spoken of.

that he was a most knowing man in all
 points of *Learning*; & exquisitely skilled in all
 liberal Sciences. And for that I had sometimes read many books
 of the Philosophers, and had fresh in memory much
 of their, I presently felt to compare some points of
 theirs to those fable fables of the *Moniches*; and
 those things verily which the Philosophers had taught,
 who could only prevaile so far as to make, judges
 of this lower world, though the Lord of it they
 could by no means finde out. I desired far more pro-
 duce unto me for great art thou, O Lord, thou hast re-
 ceived the humble; but the proud thou beholdest afarre off.
 I say it. Nor dost thou draw neere, but to the con-
 sideration in heart, thou art thou found by those that be-
 come, no, not though they had the curious skill so
 number the Stars, and the Land, and to quarter out
 the houses of the heavenly *Constellations*, and to finde
 out the courses of the *Planets*. For with their under-
 standing and wit, which thou bestowest on them,
 they search out these things: yea, they have found
 out & foretold many a yeere, before the *Eclipses* of the
 lights of the *Sunne* & *Moon*, what day & what houre,
 and how many *Digits* they should be so, nor hath their
 calculation faile them: and just thus came all to passe
 as they foretold; and they committed to writing the
 things found out by them, which are read this day, and
 one of them do others foretell, in what yeere, and
 month of the yeere, and what day of the month,
 and what houre of the day, and what part of it's light
 the *Moon*, or *Sunne* is to be *Eclipsed*, and so it shall
 come to passe, as it is foreshewed.

At these things men wonder, and are astonish-
 ed, that know not this Art, and they that doe know

it, triumph, and are extolled; and out of a wicked
 pride turning back from thee, failing thereby of
 light, they foresee an *Eclipse* of the *Sunne* following
 for a while; but perceive not their owne, which
 follow in the present. For they inquire not religiously
 enough from whence they are enabled with the will
 to seeke all this withall; and finding that 'tis thou
 that made them, they resigne not themselves up
 to thee, that thou mayst preserve what thou
 hast made, and that they may kill in sacrifice
 unto thee what they have made themselves to be; and
 their owne *exalted imaginations*, like as the fowles
 of the ayre; and their owne curiosities, like as the fishes
 of the Sea, in which they wander over the unknown
 paths of the bottomless pit, & their owne luxuriousness,
 like as the beasts of the field, that thou Lord, who art
 consuming fire, Deut. 4. 24. mayst burne up those de-
 carcasses of theirs, and renew themselves immortally.

4. But they knew not that way, (thy word) by which
 thou madest these things which themselves can calcu-
 late, and the *calculators* themselves, and the sense by
 which they see what they *calculate*, and the under-
 standing, out of which they do number it; or that
 thy wisdom there is no number. But the only Begot-
 ten is made unto us wisdom, and Righteousnesse, and San-
 ctification, 1 Cor. 1. 30. and was numbred as one of
 us, and paid tribute unto *Cesar*. This way have not
 these men knowne, by which they should descend
 from themselves downe to him; and by it ascend
 againe unto him. They verily knew not this way, and
 they conceit themselves to move in an high orb, and
 to shine amongst the *Starrs*; whereas behold they
 grovel upon the ground, and their foolish heart is dan-
 gered. Rom. 1. 21. They discourse truly of many
 things

things concerning the creature; but the true Archi-
 tect of the creature they doe not religiously seeke af-
 ter; and therefore doe they not finde him. Or if
 they doe finde him, acknowledging him to be God; yet
 they glorifie him not as God, neither were thing full
 become one in their imaginations. Rom. 1. 21. They
 set out themselves to bee wise, attributing thy
 powers unto their skill; and in this humor, with a most
 perverse blindness study they on the other side to
 set out to thee their owne follies; entitling thee
 to beart Truth it selfe, unto their eyes; changing thine
 glory of the incorruptible God, into an Image made
 like to corruptible man, and to birds, and foure footed beasts,
 and creeping things: changing thy truth into a lye, and
 the creature more then the Creator. Rom. 1. 23.
 But yet divers observations concerning the
 creature truly delivered by these Philosophers, did I
 keepe in memory, yea, and I conceived the Reason
 of them by mine owne calculations, the order of times, and
 the visible testimonies of the Starres; and all this I
 compared with the saying of Manichæus, who had
 written much of these subjects, doting most abundantly;
 nor did he give me any reason either of the
 Solis, or Equinoxes, or the Eclipses of the greater
 lights, nor of any such point as I had learned in the
 booke of secular Philosophie. But in his Writings was
 commanded to beleve all, but no answer met I
 shall unto those reasons, which had been found
 out, both by mine owne calculations, and eye-sight;
 and all which, his was quite contrary.

CHAP. IV.

Only the knowledge of God makes happy.

Tell me, O Lord God of Truth, is whoſoever skillfull in theſe Philoſophicall things, thereby acceptable unto thee? Surely moſt unhappy is the man that knows all theſe things, and is ignorant of thee, but happy is he that knows thee, though ignorant of theſe. And he that knows both thee and them, is yet the happier for them, but for thee only: upon condition, that as he knows thee, ſo he glorifies thee as God, and is thankfull, and becomes not vain in his own imaginations. Rom. 1. 21.

2. For even as he is in better caſe that knows how to poſſeſſe a Tree, & to return thanks unto thee for the commodities of it, although he knowes not how many cubits high it riſes, or how broad it ſpreads, than he that hath the ſkill to meaſure it, and keeps an account of all the boughs of it, and is neither owner of it, nor knows, nor loves him that created it: Even ſo, a faithfull man, whoſe right all this world of wealth is, and who having nothing, yet doth as it were poſſeſſe all things, even by cleaving unto thee, to whom all things ſerve, though he knowes not ſo much as the Circles of the World: yee is it folly to doubt, but he is in better ſtate than hee that can quarter out the heavens, and number the ſtarrs, and poiſes the Elements, and yet is negligent of thy knowledge, who haſt made all things in number, weight, and meaſure. Wiſ. 11. 20.

CHAP. V.

The rashnesse of Faustus, in teaching what he knew not.

1. **B**ut yet who requested, I know not what *Manichean* to write these things, without the skill of which, true piety might well be learned. For thou hast said unto man, *Behold, piety is wisdom*; Job 28. 18. of which that *Manichean* might be utterly ignorant, though perfect at the knowledge of these things: but these things because he knew not, most impudently daring to teach them, he was not able plainly to attain the knowledge of that piety. A great vanity it is verily to professe the knowledge of these worldly things; but it is a pious thing to confesse unto thee. Wherefore this *rowling fellow* prated indeed much of these things, that so being confuted by those who had not learned the truth of these things, he might be evidently discovered what understanding he had in points that were *abstruser*. For the man would not have himself meanly thought of, but went about forsooth to perfwade, *That the Holy Ghost, the Comforter and Enricher of the faithfull ones, was with full authority personally resident within him.*

2. Whereas therefore he was found out to have taught falsely of the Heavens and Stars, and of the courses of the Sun and Moon, (although these things pertain little to the Doctrine of Religion) yet that his presumptions were sacrilegious is apparent enough, seeing that he delivered those things not only w^{ch} he knew not, but w^{ch} himself had falsified, and that with so mad a vanity of pride, that he

*Manichæus his Pride and Blasphemy. All Hereticks do thus
of the Spirit.*

about to attribute them to himself, as to a *divine person*. When ever now I hear a Christian Brother (either one or other) that is ignorant enough of these *Philosophical subtilties*, and that mistaketh one thing for another, I can patiently behold such a man delivering his opinion; not do I see how it can much hinder him, when as he doth not believe any thing unworthy of thee, O Lord, the Creator of all, perchance he be lesse skilled in the situation or condition of the corporeal creature. But then it hurts him, if so be he imagines this to pertain to the form of the doctrine of piety, and will yet stand too stiffly in a thing he is utterly ignorant of.

3. And yet is such an infirmity in the infancy of a mans faith born withall by our *Mother Church* till such time as this new *Convert* grow up unto a *perfect man*, & not to be caried about with every wind of *Doctrine*, Eph. 4. 13 14. whereas in that *Faustus*, who was so presumptuous as to make himself the Doctor, and Author, the Ringleader and chief man of all those whom he had inveigled to the opinion, that whoever became his follower, did not imagine himself to follow a meet man, but thy holy Spirit; who would not judge but that so high a degree of madnesse, when once he had been convicted to have taught such falsities, were not to be detested and utterly rejected? But I had not clearly as yet found out, whether the interchanges and alterations of the length and shortnesse of dayes and nights, yea of the day and night it self, with the Eclipses and wainings of the greater Lights, and other things of the like kind which I had read in other Books, might be so expounded as to stand with his determination of them: but though per-
adventu

adventure it might so be; yet should it remain uncertain to me, whether it were so or not: however, for the great sanctity supposed to be in the man, I was (forsooth) to propound to my self his authority, which ought to be enough to make me believe him.

CHAP. VI.

Faustus was eloquent by nature, rather than by Art.

And by the space almost of those nine years, wherein with an unsected mind I had been a Disciple of the *Manichees*, with a desire set upon the Tenter-hooks, had I expected the coming of this *Faustus*. For all the rest of that *Sect*, whom by chance I had light upon, and had put to a *non-plus* with my questions & objections about these things, still promised me this *Faustus*; upon whose coming and conference, all these, and greater difficulties, I had them, would most easily and clearly be satisfied. So soon therefore as he was come, I quickly tasted him to be a very pleasing language'd man, and one that could prate a great deal more delightfully of those points that they were wont to talk of. But how should a spruce Cup-bearer slake the thirst I had after those precious Cups? Mine eares had been cloyed already with such trash; which did not now therefore seem better to me, because better said; nor therefore true, because eloquent; nor seem'd the soul wise, because the face had a good garbe, and the language a sweet tone. As for them who had made such promises of him to me, they plainly were no good Judges of things; and therefore to

them he appeared prudent & wise, for that he could please them in the speaking.

1. Another sort of people I had also met withall, who * become presently suspicious of the Truth itself, and refuse to acknowledge it so, if delivered in a *picked* and *fluent* discourse. But thou, O my God, hadst taught me by wonderfull and secret wayes, and therefore I believe, even because thou hast taught me; for that is the very truth, nor is there besides thee any other Teacher of Truth, wheresoever or whensoever he may be famous. Of thy self therefore had I now learned; nor ought any thing seem to be *truly* spoken, because *eloquently* set off; nor *false* therefore, because delivered with an *untuneable* pronuntiation. Again, nor therefore *true*, because *roughly* delivered; nor therefore *false*, because *graced* in the speaking: but fares with *wisdom* and *Folly*, as it doth with *wholesome* and *wimbolesome* Dyer; and with *neate* and *undrest* Phrases, as with *Courtly* or *Country* Vessels: either kind of meats may be serv'd up in either kind of dishes. That greedinesse therefore of mine, with which I had so long expected that *man*, was delighted verily with the carriage & action of his dispute, fluently expresting himself, and in such terms as were very apt to set out his sentences to the best.

2. I was therefore much taken with him; and with others many, yea and more then those many, did I both praise and extoll him. This I took ill from him, that in the assembly of his Auditors, I might not be suffered to put in now and then, and

* Fast the Puritane humour of our times; with whom our incomparable Court Sermons are Batteries, and our neatest Preachers are Lady-preachers: for so they call them.

"communicate those questions that troubled me, by a familiar conferring and exchange of arguments with him. Which when I gate opportunity to do, J, with other of my friends, both began to blisse his cares, and that at such times too, as had not been undecent for him to have exchanged an argument with me; and J opened my self in such things as did sway much with me: but the man I found utterly unskillfull in the *Liberall Sciences*, save of Grammar only, and but ordinarily in that neither. But because he had read some of *Tullie's Orations*, some few books of *Seneca*, divers of the *Poets*, and those Volumes of his own *Self*, which had been written in the Latine tongue, and something handsomely; and for that he was daily practised in speaking upon a subject; thence became he furnished with eloquence, which proved the more pleasing and inveigling, being govern'd by a good wit, and set off with a kind of *gracefulness* that was naturall unto him. Is it not thus, as I now remember, O Lord my God, thou Judge of my conscience? Before thee my heart still is, and my remembrance too: Thou who didst at that time direct me by the hidden secret of thy providence, and didst turn those shamefull errors of mine before my face, that I might see and hate them.

This was the old fashion of the East; where the Schollers had liberty to ask questions of their Masters, and to move doubts on the Professors were reading, or so soon as the Lecture was done. Thus did our Saviour with the Doctors, Luk. 2. 46. So is it still in some European Universities.

CHAP. VII.

He falls off from the Manichee.

1. **F**Or after that he had sufficiently appeared to me, to be thus ignorant of those *Arts* in which I thought he had excelled; I began to despair that he should ever open and untie these difficulties which so much perplexed me; of which though a man were ignorant, he might yet hold fast the truth of Piety, provided he were not a *Manichee*. For their Books are fraught with far-fetcht Fables, of the Heaven, and the Stars, of the Sun, and of the Moon, which I (having compared with the *calculations* I had read of other where) did not hereafter hold him any wayes able subtilely to resolve me in [which I much desired] whether those things should be rather so, as in the *Manichee's* books they were contained, or that some as sufficient reason might at least be fetcht out of them. Which *Quintus* when I had offered to be considered upon and discussed, he modestly (to say truth) had nor the boldness to undergo the burthen, (being guilty of his own ignorance in these *Arts*) nor was at last ashamed to confesse as much. For none of those prating fellows he was, many of which I had been troubled withall, that would undertake to instruct me in these *Arts*, and at last say nothing to the purpose. But this man bare an ingenuous mind, though not right towards thee, yet not too rash towards himself: for he was not altogether ignorant of his own ignorance; nor was he willing rashly to engage himself in a Dispute, whence he could neither get off, nor retire fairly. And even for this did I like the better of him: for fairer appears the modesty

of a *confessing* mind, then those things which I then desired to be informed of. And at this *guard* I found him lying; in all those more difficult and subtiler questions.

2. My edge being thus taken off, which I had keenly intended towards the *Manichees* doctrine; and despairing more of the performante of their other *Doctors*, seeing in divers things which had stumbled me, this so famous *Faustus* had appeared so shallow; I began with him to take the same course of life, according to that study which he was very hot upon, in that kind of learning, in which at that time being a *Rhetorick Reader* in *Cambridge*, I instructed young Students; and I began to read with him, either what himself desired to heare, or such stufte as I judged fit for such a wit. But all my endeavour by which I purposed to proceed in that *Sect*, upon knowledge of that man, began utterly to faint in me; not that I yet brake with them altogether, but as one not finding any thing better then that course, upon which I had some way or other thrown my self, I resolved to stay where I was a while, untill by some good chance something else might appear, which I should see more cause to make choice of.

3. And thus that *Faustus*, who had been the very snare of death unto divers, had now, not willing nor knowing, begun to unbind the snare in which I was fettered. For thy hands, O my God, out of the secret of thy providence, did not now forsake my soul; and out of the blood of my Mothers heart, through her tears night and day poured out, hadst thou a Sacrifice offered for me; and thou proceedest with me by strange and secret wayes. This thou

then diddest, O my God: for the steps of a man shall be directed by the Lord, *and he shall dispose his way*, Pro. 21. 29. For how shall we procure salvation, but from thy hand, that repairs whatsoever thou hast made?

CHAP. VIII.

He takes a voyage to Rome, against the will of his Mother.

1. **T**HOU dealtest with me therefore, that I should be perswaded to go to *Rome*, and to reach there rather than at *Carthage*. And how I came to be perswaded to this, I will not neglect to confesse unto thee: because hereby thy most profound secrets, and thy most ready mercy towards us, may be considered upon and professed. I had no intent for this cause to go towards *Rome*, that greater gettings and higher preferments were warranted me by my friends which perswaded me to the journey, (though these hopes likewise drew on my mind at that time) but there was another great reason for it, which was almost the onely reason, that I had heard how young men might follow their studies there more quietly, and were kept under a stricter course of discipline; that they might not at their pleasures, and in insolent manner, rush in upon that mans School, where their own Master professed not, nor come within the doors of it, unless he permitted it.

But at *Carthage*, on the other side, reigns a most unciuill and unruly licentiousnesse amongst the Schollers: They break in audaciously and al-

The insupportable passion of the Students in Carthage.

most

most with Bedlam-looks, disturb all order which my Master hath propounded for the good of his Schollers. Divers outrages do they commit, with a wonderfull stupidnesse, deserving soundly to be punished by the Lawes, were not Custome the defendresse of them; this declaring them to be more miserable, as if that were lawfull to do, which by my eternall Law shall never be so: and they suppose they escape unpunished all this while, whereas they be enough punished with the blindnesse which they do it with, and that they already suffer things incomparably worse than what they doe. These mens manners therefore when I was a Student, I would never fashion my self unto, though when I set up School I was faine to endure them from others: and for this cause was I desirous to go to Rome, where, all those that knew it, assured me that there were no such insolencies committed. But thou, O my refuge and my portion in the land of the living, Psal. 142. 5. wouldest not force me to change my dwelling for the salvation of my soul, didst prick me forward with goads at Carthage, with which I might be driven thence, and mad'st proffer of certain allurements at Rome, by which I might be drawn thither: even by men who were in love with a dying life, now playing mad pranks, then promising vain hopes: and, for the reforming of my courses, didst thou make secret use both of their perversnesse & of mine own too. For both they that disturbed my quiet, were blinded with a base madnesse, & those that invited me to another course favoured meerly of the earth. And I my self, who here detested true misery, aspired there to a false felicity.

3. But the cause why I went from thence, and

went thither, thou knewest, O God, yet didst thou neither discover it to me, nor to my Mother, who heavily bewailed my journey, and followed me as far as the Sea-side. But I deceived her, though holding me by force, that either I should go back with her, or she might go along with me. For, I feigned that I had a friend whom I could not leave, and I saw him with a fair wind under sail. Thus I made a lie to my Mother, and to so good a Mother too, and so got away from her. But this hast thou mercifully forgiven me, preserving me from the waters of the Sea, then full of execrable filthiness, landing me safe at the water of thy Grace; * with which so soon as I were purged, those floods of my Mother's eyes should be dried up, with which for my sake she daily watered the ground under her feet, in prayer unto thee. At last refusing to remain without me, I with much ado perswaded her to stay that night in a place hard by our Ship, where there was an Oratory erected * in memory of S. Cyprian. That night I privily stole aboard, but she tarried behind in weeping and prayer. And what, O Lord, requested she at thy hands, but that thou wouldst not suffer me to sail away from her. But thou profoundly providing, and fearing the main point of her desire, didst not at that time regard her petition, that thou mightest bring that to passe in me, which she had alwayes beg'd of thee.

* He means the waters of Baptisme.

* Memoria beati Cypriani. This the former Translator calls The Shrine of Saint Cyprian: and notes in his margin. The place where S. Cyprian's Reliques were kept. See our Preface.

4. The wind blew faire, and swell'd our sailes, and the shore withdrew it self from our sights. The morrow after, she fell into an extreme passion of sorrow, and with complaints and lamentation she even fill'd thine ears, which did for that time little seem to regard them: even then, when through the strength of my own desires, thou didst hurry me away, that thou mightest at once put an end to all her cares: mean while her carnal affection towards me, was justly punished by the scourge of sorrows. For she much doted on my company, as Mothers use to do, yea much more fondly then many Mothers: for little knew she how great a joy thou wert about to work for her out of my absence. She knew nothing of it, therefore did she weep and lament; proving her self by those tortures, to be guilty of what *Eve* left behind her; with sorrow seeking, what she had brought forth in sorrow. But having at last made an end of accusing me of false and hard dealing with her, she betook her self again to intreat thy favour for me, returned home, and I went on towards *Rome*.

CHAP. IX.

Of a shrewd Fever that he fell into.

1. **B**Ut lo, there was I welcomed with the rod of bodily sicknesse, and I was even ready to go to hell, carrying with me all those sinnes which I had committed, both against thee, and my self, yea many and grievous offences against others, over and above that bond of *original* * sinne, whereby we all die in *Adam*. For thou hadst not yet forgiven

* Because he was not yet baptized, Eph. 2. 16.

any thing in *Christ*, nor had he yet slain that enmi-
ty by his *Crosse* which by my sins I had incurred;
and how indeed could he by an imaginary suffer-
ing upon it, which was my ^{*} belief of it. How false
therefore the death of his flesh seemed unto me,
so true was the death of my soule; and how true
the death of his body was, so false was the life of
my soule, which did not believe the death of his
body. My *Peaver* now growing more violent up-
on me, I was at the point of going and perishing:
for whither should I have gone, had I dyed at that
time but into fire and torments, such as my
misdeeds were worthy of in the truth of thy de-
cree; Of all this nothing knew my mother, yet
continued she to pray for me though in absence.
But thou who art present every where, heardst her
where she was, and hadst compassion upon me,
whereas I was; for I recovered health of body
thereupon, though sorely crazed as yet in my
sacrilegious heart. For I had not in all that dan-
ger desired thy Baptisme, and I was better affect-
ed, being but a youth, when through my mothers
devotion in my sicknesse I had been very earnest
to receive it as I have before recited and confessed.

a. But I had from thenceforth grown worse and
worse to my own shame, and now stark mad I scof-
fed at those *Prescripts* of that *Physick* of thine, by
which thou wouldst not suffer me to die ^{*} two
death: at once; with which wound should my mo-

^{*} Another error of the Manichees, who believed our *Christ* to have assumed a true body, but a phantastical appearance and shape only.

^a He alludes to his own Manichean humour and contempt of *Physick*, that *Physick* of the soule which suffers it not to die the second death, though the body, through sicknesse dies the first.

Here the former Translator mistakes and misses: talking of I know not what journey.

her heart have been goared, it could never have been cured; for I want words to express the affection she bare towards me; and with how much vehementer anguish she was now in labour of me in the spirit, then she had been at her child-bearing in the flesh. I cannot possibly see therefore how she should have been cured, had so *unchristian* a death of mine, once stricken through the bowels of her love. And what should then have become of those passionate prayers of hers, so frequently and incessantly in all places made* unto thee? But wouldst thou O God of mercies, have despised that contrite and humbled heart of that chaste and sober widdow, so frequent in *Almesdeeds*, so obsequious and serviceable to thy* *Saints*, who passed no day without her* *oblation* at thine *Altar*, never missing twice a day morning and evening to come to Church, not to listen after idle tales and old wives chat; but that shee might heare thee speaking to her in thy *Sermons*, and thou her, in her prayers.

3. Couldst

* *Nulquam nisi, or nulquam non* (as *Suetonius* hath it) no place omitted, or, in every place. In the *Latine* the Interrogative point should not be after intermissione, but after ad re.

* See 1 Tim. 5. 10. * *Oblations* were those offerings

of bread, meale or wine for making of the Eucharist, or of *Almes* besides for the poor, which the *Primitive Christians* every time they communicated brought to the church, where it was received by the Deacons, who presented them to the Priest or Bishop;

Here a note, 1. They communicated daily. 2. They had service morning and evening, and two Sermons a day many times. 3. Note that *Saint Monica* never heard Masse, (as the *Papish Translator* would have it in his margins :) for Masse is not found in *Saint Augustine*. 4. Observe that these Sermons too which because the *Papists* have not with their Masse, so cunningly (but falsely) translated *Sermonibus*, *Inspirationibus*.

3. Couldst thou despise and reject without thy succour those teares of hers, with which she begged no gold or silver of thee, nor any mutable or fading good, but the salvation of her sons soul only? Couldst thou do it, by whose grace she was inspired to do thus? By no meanes, Lord. Yea thou wert still at hand, and thou heardest her, and thou didst all in the self-same order thou hadst *predestinated* it should be done in. Let it never be thought thou shouldst deceive her in those *Visions* and *Answers* she had of thee; both those which I have already remembered; and those which I have not remembered; all which she laid up in her faithfull heart, which in her prayers ever and anon she would present withall, as with thine own *handwriting*. For thou (*because thy mercy endureth for ever*) vouchsafest unto those whose debts thou forgivest thoroughly, even to become a kind of debtor by thy promises.

CHAP. X.

His exhortation before his receiving of the Doctrine of the Gospel.

1. **T**HOU recoveredst me therefore of that sickness, and healedst the sonne of thy handmaid at that time in his body, that thou mightest bestow upon him a health far better and more certain. I comforted my self in *Rome* at that time with those deceiving and deceived *Holy ones*; not only

* These glorious titles did the Manichees assume. So do our new schismaticall Pseudo ones. This spiritual pride still accom-

and Hereticks, yet 'tis a sure mark of heresse. Mark how Augustine describes them. We have those now adays that say, God sees no sinne in them: and 'tis not they that sinne, but corruption in them.

only with their Disciples, (of which mine self was one, in whose house I fell sick and recovered;) but also with those whom they called The *Alefs*. For I was hitherto of the opinion, That it was not *our selves* that sinned, but I know not what other nature in us; and it much delighted my proud conceit, to be set beyond the power of sinne; and when I had committed any sin, not to confesse I had done any, that thou mightest heal my soule when I had sinned against thee: but I loved to excuse it, and to accuse I know not what other corruption that I have about me; and that it was not I that did it. But verily it was I my self altogether; and mine own impiety had made the division in me: and that sinne of mine was the more incurable, for that I did not judge my self to be a sinner; and most execrable iniquity it was, that I had rather have thee, O GOD Almighty, even thee I say, to be overcome by me to mine own destruction, than my self to be overcome of thee to mine own salvation.

2. Thou hadst not yet therefore set a watch before my mouth, and kept the door of my lips, Psal. 141. 3. 4. that my heart might not incline to wicked speeches, to the excusing of these excuses of my sinnes with the men that work iniquity; and even therefore continued I still combined with their *Alefs* once. But yet now as it were despairing much to praise my self in that false doctrine, even those opinions of theirs (with which if I could chance upon no better, I was resolv'd so rest contented) I began now

now to be something more remisse and carelesse in the holding. For there rose a conceipt in me, That those *Philosophers* which they call *Academikes*, should be wiser then the rest, - even for that they hold, *Men ought to make a doubt upon every thing*: & for that they determined, how that *no truth can be comprehended by man*: for thus to me they seemed clearly to have thought, as it is commonly received even by such as understand not the utmost of their meaning by it.

3. And as free and open I was to dissuade that *Hesit* of mine, from that too much confidence which I perceived him to settle upon those fabulous opinions, which the *Manichees* books are full of. And yet I made more familiar use of *their* friendships, than I did of other men that were not of this *heresy*. Yet did I not maintain it with my ancient obstinacy, but yet did my familiarity with that Sect (of whom *Rome* shelters too many) make me slower to seek out any other way: especially seeing I now despaired, O Lord of heaven and earth, Creator of all visible and invisible things, to find the truth in thy Church, which they had quite put me out of conceipt with. And it then seem'd a very unseemly thing to believe thee to have the shape of our humane flesh, and to be girt up in the bodily linaments of our members. And because that when I had a desire to meditate upon God, I knew not how to think of him, but as of a *Bulk of bodies*, (for that seemed to me not to be any thing, which was not such) this was the greatest, and almost the onely cause of my inevitable misprision.

4. For hence it was that I believed *Evil* to have been a kind of substance, and had a bulk of earth belonging

ing to it, either deformed and grosse, which they * called *Earth* : or else thin and subtile, (like the body of the *Aire*) which they imagine to be an *ill-natured mind*, gliding thorow that *Earth*. And for that I know not what not ill-minded piety constrained me to believe, that *the good God never created any evil nature*; I supposed two *Bulk*s, contrary to one another, both infinite, but the *Evil* to be *lesser*, and the *Good* *larger* : and out of this prevalent foundation, other sacrilegious conceits followed vpon me. For when my mind endeavoured to have recourse back unto the Catholike faith, I was still stay'd off again, for that that indeed was the Catholike faith, which I believed to have been. And I seemed more reverently opinioned, if I should have believed thee, O my God, (to whom my mercies wrought in me do now confesse) to be infinite in other parts, although on that side by which I was set in opposition unto thee, I was constrained to confesse thee to be *finite*; than if in all parts I should imagine thee to be finitely *concluded* within the shape of an humane body.

3. And it seemed safer for me to believe thee to have never created any *evil*, (which to ignorant men seemed not some *substance* onely, but to be *matter* also : and for that I could not hit to think of any *spiritual* *mind*, unlesse it should be a *subtile* body, and that diffused too by *local* *spaces*) than to believe any thing could come from thee of that condition, which I imagined the nature of *Evil* to be. Yea and our blessed *Saviour* himself, thy onely begotten Son, reached (as it were) for our *Salvation*, out of the most bright *mass* of thy substance, I so thought of, as that I believed

no other thing of him, than that I was able to imagine by mine own vain fancie. Such a nature therefore I thought could never be born of the Virgin Mary, unless it were incorporated * into her flesh, and how that which I had on this fashion figured out to my self, should be incorporated, and therewithall defiled, I saw not. I feared therefore to believe Christ to be *born* in the flesh, lest I should be enforced also to believe that he was *defiled* by the flesh. Now will thy spiritual children in a mild and loving manner laugh at me, when they shall read these my Confessions. But such a man I then was.

* Nisi carni concernetur. Concerni autem & non inquinari, &c.

CHAP. XI.

How he compared the Manichees Tenents with the Catholikes.

Furthermore, whatever these Manichees had found fault withal in thy Scriptures, I thought not possible to be defended; but yet verily had a good will now and then to confer upon these several points with some man that were best skilled in those books, and to make experience what was thought of the matter: For the speech of one Hippolytus, speaking and disputing face to face against the said Manichees, had already begun to stirre me even whilst I was at Carthage: when namely he produced such Texts out of the Scriptures, which were not easily to be withstood, and that the Manichees Answer seemed but very weak unto me.

3. Which

Which answer they would not willingly be
 down to deliver in publike hearing, but amongst
 themselves only in private; namely when as they
 said, that the *Scriptures* of the *New Testament* had
 been corrupted by I know not whom, who were
 desirous to insert the Law of the *Jews* into the
Christian Faith: whereas themselves all this while
 brought not out any *Copies* that had not been so
 corrupted. But me, strongly captivated, and stifled
 in law, with beating my thoughts about these
 corporeal phantasies, did these *bulks* keep down;
 under which struggling for the breath of thy truth,
 I was not able to take it in pure and untainted.

CHAP. XII.

*The cunning tricks put at Rome by Schollers upon
 their Masters.*

Diligently therefore began I to put in practice
 that for which I came to *Rome*: that is, to
 teach *Rhetorick*. And first of all, to draw some to
 my Lodging, to whom, and through whose means
 I began to be made known abroad: when as be-
 hold I came to know how that other misdemean-
 ours were committed in *Rome*, which I could not
 endure in *Africa*. For those * *Overturnings* ('tis
 true) committed by desperate young fellows, were
 not here practised, as it was plainly told me: but
 yet, said they, to avoid payment of their Masters
 spend, divers young Schollers plot together, and
 all on the sudden, to avoid due payment to their
 Masters, these promise-breakers, who for the love
 of money make no account of just dealing, remove

* See Book 3. Chap. 3.

them.

themselves to another. The sharking companies my heart hated also, though not *with a perfect hatred*: For I more hated them (perchance) for that my selfe was to suffer by them, than for that they plaid such dishonest pranks with every man.

2. Such verily be but base fellowes; and they play false with thee, in loving these sleeing mockeries of the times, and in griping after this daggaine, which when it is got hold of, bemyres the hand; and in embracing this sleeing World, and in despising thee, who abidest ever, and who callest back, and grantest pardon to mans adulterated soule that returns unto thee. And now I more hated such wicked and perverse natures, though I could well love them were they to be amended, and that they would once preferre *Learning* before their *Money*; and above their *Learning* esteeme thee O God, the Truth and fulnesse of all assured good, and the most chaste peace. But I was even for mine own sake more unwilling in those days to bear with those that dealt ill with me, then desirous that they should at last become good for the sake.

CHAP. XIII.

He goes to Millan to teach Rhetorick, and how S. Ambrose there entertains him.

1. **W**HEN therefore they of *Millan* had sent to *Rome* to the *Presell* of the City, desiring to be furnished thence with a *Rhetorick* Master for their City, taking order also for *accommodating* him in his journey upon the

* *Impertita etiam evectiōe publica. Sending of Waggons*

Horses, and one to defray his charges upon the Cities purse. Thus had the Ancients their publicke Horses or Waggones for the Service of the State, and defraying the charges of their Mil-
litors. Thus did Constantine appoint Coaches and Horses of
aday for the Bishops that were to come to the Council of Nice,
This is supplied by our Post-Horses, and by the Secretary of
State, his allowance of money to those that ride with Packes
in the Kings Service. The former Translator, (whom I
had no great Antiquary nor Critick in Grammar) not stand-
ing to examine this, turnes Imperita etiam electione pub-
licam The Election being publike. Wilfully changing electione
into electione. But what then shall become of Imperita?
In a marginall note upon the end of the last chapter but one,
he challenges us to shew where the Papists had corrupted the
Text: Sure here is Saint Augustine corrupted, if not our
Latine, yet upon shrewd suspicion of ignorance, and a desire
to be rid of his task of Translating. The collapsed Ladies he
had no skill to examine the Latine. Your implicite faith
is not only faith; why? because 'tis Roman Catholike.

The charges: I put on to stand for the place, and
that by means of those very Manichees (drunken
with vanities) to be rid of whom, I purposely went
away: yet did neither of us know certainly, whe-
ther upon my making a publike * Oration for the
Place, Symmachus (then Praefect of the City)
would so far approve of me, as to send me thither.
Well; unto Milan I came; to Bishop Ambrose, a
man of the best fame all the world over, and thy
devout servant; (whose eloquent discourse did in
those dayes plentifully dispense the flowre of thy
wheat, * the gladnesse of thy oyl, and the sober
overflowings of thy wine, unto thy people.)

* *Ve dictione proposita, ne probatum misteret.* This was
and still is the fashion to make an Oration, or to read a Le-
cture for a void Professors Place in our Universities. The for-
mer Translator turnes it, would send me as approved from
hence upon publike Provision to be made. I understand not
the man. * He alludes to Psal. 4. 7.

To him was I led by thee, ignorant of thy purpose in it; that by him I might be brought to thee, more clearly knowing thee. That *man of God* entertained me fatherly, and approved of the cause of my coming, as became a Bishop.

1. I thenceforth began to love him; not at first verily as a Teacher of the Truth, (which I utterly despaired to find in thy Church) but as a man of courteous usage to me. And I very diligently heard him preaching to the people, not (although with so good an intent as I ought, but, as it were, trying his eloquence, whether it were answerable to the fame that went of him, or whether more or lesse than was every where given out of him: and I weighed every word of his very attentively. But of the matter I was carelesse and scornfull. And verily with the sweetnesse of his discourse I was much delighted; which, however it were more learned, yet was it not so pleasing and inveigling as *Fauslus* his was, the manner of the Oratory I mean; though for the matter there were no comparison. For *Fauslus* did but rove up and down with his *Manichean* fallacies, but *Ambrose* taught salvation most soundly. But salvation is far enough from sinners, such as I was at that instant; and yet drew I by little and little neerer toward it; but how, I knew not.

CHAP. XIV.

Upon his hearing of Saint Ambrose, he by little and little falls off from his errors.

1. **F**OR though I took little heed to hearken to what he spake, but meerly to the way how he delivered

them: (for that empty care was now only left in me, I despairing utterly to find a way how to come unto thee,) yet together with his words which I liked, the things also themselves which I neglected bore in upon my mind; (for I knew not how to part them) and whilst I opened my heart to entertain how eloquently he express it, there also entered with it by degrees, how truly he proved it. For first of all, the things began to appear unto me as possible to be defended; and the Catholick Faith, in defence of which I thought nothing could be answered to the Manichæes Arguments, I now concluded with my self, might well be maintained without absurdity: especially after I had heard one or two hard places of the *Old Testament*, resolved now and then, which when I understood literally, I was slain spiritually.

a. Many places therefore of those Books having been expounded, I blamed mine own desperate conceit whereby I had beleaved, * *That the Law and the Propheets could no way be upheld against those that hated and scorned them.* Yet did I not resolve for all this, that the Catholick way might be held safely, (seeing it might have its teachers and maintainers, which might be able, both copiously, and not absurdly, to answer some objections made against it;) nor yet did I conceive that my former way ought to be condemned; because that both sides of the defence are equalled. For in this sort did the Catholick Party seem to me not to be overthrown, as that it appeared not

* He alludes to that in 2 Cor. 3. The letter killeth, but the Spirit giveth life. * Another of the Manichæes errors.

yet to be altogether *victorious*. Earnestly hereon did I bend my mind, to see if it were possible to convince the *Manichees* of falshood: and could but once have taken into my thoughts, that there should be any *Spiritual substance*, all their strong holds had been beaten down, and cast utterly out of my mind: but I was not able.

3. Notwithstanding, concerning the body of this World, and the whole frame of *Nature*, which the senses of our flesh can reach unto, I now more seriously considering upon, and comparing things together, judged divers of the *Philosophers* to have held much the more probable opinions. After the manner therefore of the *Academicks* (as they are supposed) doubting now of every thing, and wavering up and down between all; I absolutely resolved, *That the Manichees were to be abandoned*: judging in that time of my suspense, that I could not safely continue in that *Sect*, before which I now preferred divers of the *Philosophers*: to whom *Philosophers* notwithstanding, for that they were without the saving Name of *Christ*, I utterly refused to commit the curing of my languishing soul. This therefore I determined; So long to be a *Catechumenus* in the *Catholic Church*, (which had been so much commended unto me by my parents till such time as some certain mark should appear whereby I might steer my course.

* *An Auditor, or Disciple.*


SAINT

SAINT
AUGUSTINE'S
Confessions.

The Sixth Book.

CHAP. I.

Now S. Augustine was neither Manichee, nor good
Catholike.

 Thou my hope even from my youth,
where wert thou all this while, and
whither wert thou gone? For hadst
not thou created me, and set a dis-
tinction betwixt me and the beasts
of the field, and fowles of the aire?
Thou hadst made me wiser then they, yet did I
wander through the dark, and over the slippery,
and I groped out of my self after thee; but found
not the God of my heart, and I drew neare even
unto the bottome of the Sea, and I distrusted; and I
despaired of ever finding out the truth. By this
time came my Mother unto me, (whom motherly
duty had made adventurous) following me over
Sea and Land, confident upon thee in all perils.
In the dangers upon the Sea, she comforted the
 Mariners, (by whom the unexperienced passeng-
ers

of the deep, use rather to be themselves comforted, assuring them of a safe landing: because so much hadst thou assured her by a *Vision*.

2. She found me grievously indangered by a despair of ever finding out the truth. But when I had once discovered to her, (that I was no longer now a *Manichee*, nor fully yet a *Christian* * *Catholic*, she even leapt for joy; not as if she had heard of some unlookt for news, seeing she had been satisfied before concerning that part of my misery, for which she bewailed me, not as one irrecoverably dead, but as if there were good hopes of his reviving; laying me forth upon the *Biere* before thee, that thou mightest say unto the *son of the widow*, *Young man, I say unto thee, arise; And he should sit up, and begin to speak, and thou shouldst deliver him to his Mother*. Her heart therefore paused not in any perplexed kind of rejoycing, when she heard that to be already in so great part done, which she daily with tears desired of thee might be wholly done; namely, that though I had not yet attained the truth, yet that I was rescued from falsehood; rather, for that she was most certaine, that thou shouldst one day perform the rest, who hadst promised the whole; most calmly and with an heart full of confidence, she replied to me; How she fully believed in *Christ*, that she should yet before she died, see me * *baptized* into the *Catholic* Faith.

3. And thus much said she to me. But to thee, O Fountaine of mercies, powred she forth more frequent prayers and tears, that thou wouldst bestow thy help, and enlighten my darknesse, that I might more studiously run unto the Church,

* *Fidelem Catholicum: A faithfull Catholicke. See*

we have noted in the first Book upon this word *Fidelis*. Mark here is *Christianus* *Carbolicus*, and *Fidelis* *Catholicus*; but yet not *Romanus* *Catholicus*: 'tis strange that *Seius* *Augustine* should so soon have forgotten *Rome*, from whence he came so lately!

settle my belief upon *Ambrose* his preaching, and desire the Fountain* of that water, which springeth up into life everlasting. For that man she loved as an Angel of G O D, because she presumed most assuredly; that I had been brought by him in the mean time to that doubtful state of faith I was now in, by which I was to passe from sickness unto health; some sharper conflict coming between, in another Fit, as it were, which the Physicians call *The Crisis*.

* She means Baptisma.

* Move the former Translator inenys some suspicion of nonsense: as if not full understanding the place.

CHAP. II.

His Mother is turned from her Countrey Superstition.

WHEN as my Mother therefore had one time brought unto the *Oratories*,* erected in memory of the *Saints*, as she was wont to do in *Africke*, certaine Cheese-cakes, and Bread and Wine; and had been forbidden to do it by the

* See what we have noted upon the eighth Chapter of the former Book.

Pulces. There was the *Romanes* Pals, and the *African*

or Punike Puls. The making of which is described in Cato de Re rustica, cap. 85. The chief substance whereof was Wheate-meale, or grates, tempered with water, Cheese curds, Honey, and Eggs: only this Puls was boyled, and ours baked. I believe that that parched Corn, mentioned 1 Sam. 17, 19. was something like this Puls of Africa. The Hebrew word there is Kali, of Kallu, is parch. For they first parch their Corn, then they fry it, and lastly they boyle it in a pail, and then tempered it as before, which they carried dy with them to the Camp, and so was the Cakes in wine or milk, &c. See Stuckins Antiqu. Conviv. l. 2. p. 58.

* *Sexton*: so soon as ever she knew that the Bishop had forbidden this, she did so piously and obediently embrace the motion, that I my Tself wondred at it, that she should so easily be brought rather to blame her own Countrey custome, than to call the present countermand in question. For Wine-bibbing besotted not her spirit, nor did the love of Wine provoke her to the hatred of the Truth, as it doth too many (both men and women) who being a little whiled once, turn the stomach at a song of sobriety, as they would do at a draught of water. But she, when she had brought her basket of these solemn junkets, which she meant to eat a little of first, and to give the rest away; never used to allow her self above one small pot of Wine, well allayed with water, for her own sober palate, whence she would sip a * mannerly draught. And if there were any more *Oratories of the departed Saints*, that seemed to be honoured in like manner, she still carried the self same pot about with her, which she used every where, which should not onely be low allayed with

* *Officiarius, the Door-keeper. See our Preface.*

* *Dignationem sumeret.*

water, but very luke-warm with carrying about : and this would she distribute to those that were about her by small sups : for she came to those places to seek devotion, and not pleasure.

2. So soon therefore as she found this custome to be countermanded by that famous Preacher, and the most pious Prelate (*Ambrose*;) yea forbidden even to those that would use it but soberly, that so no occasion of ryot might thereby be given to such as loved drinking too well ; and for that these *Funerall Anniversary Feasts*, as it were, in honour of our dead Fathers, did too neerly resemble the superstition of the *Gentiles*, she most willingly forbore it ever after : and in stead of a Basket filled with the fruits of the earth, she now had learned to present a breast replenished with sinne-purging petitions, at the *Oratories* of the *Martyrs* ; and to give away what she could spare, among the poor ; that so the *Communion of the Lords Body* might in that place be rightly celebrated, where, after the example of his Passion, these Martyrs had been sacrificed and crowned.

3. But for all this it seems to me, O Lord my God, and thus thinks my heart of it in thy sight :

Parentalia. These Polices, saith S. Augustine, were used in *Parentalibus* : and *Pliny*, lib 18. & 8. says, they were in his time used also in *Natalibus*, anniversary feasts for their birth-days. ib. The former Translator well notes in his margin, An inconvenient custome abrogated by S. Ambrose. I wish that the Pope would do so with their Images of the dead Saints, upon the same reason, for that they are too like the superstitious Images of the *Gentiles*. But observe that S. Ambrose chang'd this custome, and that as *Millan*, so neer Rome too. Where was then the Popes Authority? The Archbishop of *Millan* dares alter nothing now a-days without the Popes Licence.

That my Mother would not so easily have given way to the breaking of her Country custome, had it been forbidden her by some other man, whom she had not loved so well as shee did *Ambrose*, whom in regard of my salvation, shee verily entirely affected; and he her again, as well for her most religious conversation, whereby so full of good works, so fervent in the spirit, she frequented the Church. Yea, so well he affected her, that he would very often when he saw me, break forth into her praises, congratulating with me, in that I had such a Mother: little knowing in the mean time what a son she hid of me; who doubted of all these things, & least of all imagined the way to life could possibly be found out.

CHAP. III.

The employments and studies of S. Ambrose.

NOR did I hitherto groan in my prayers, that thou wouldest help me; but my unquiet mind was altogether intentive to seek for Learning, and to dispute upon it. As for *Ambrose* himselfe, I esteemed him a very happy man according to the world, whom personages of such authority so much honoured; only his remaining a Batchelour seemed a painfull course unto me. But what hopes he carried about him against the temptations his excellent parts were subject unto, what strugglings he felt, and what comfort he found in his adversities, and how savoury joyes that mouth hidden in his

* Had it been so generall in those dayes, that all Bishops and Priests

Prieſts muſt upon pain of loſing their Orders, profeſſe ſingle lives
why ſhould Saint Auguſtine think ſtill of Ambroſe more than
of other Biſhops of his time?

heart fed upon in thy Bread, I neither knew how
to gheſſe at, nor had I yet any feeling of. As little
on the other ſide knew he of my privy heats, nor
of the pit of my danger. For I had not the opportu-
nity to make my demands to him, what I could
or how I would; for that multitudes of people full
of buſineſſe, whoſe infirmities he gave up himſelfe
unto, debarred me both from hearing and ſpeaking
with him. With whom when he was not taken up,
(which was but a little time together) he either re-
freſhed his body with neceſſary ſuſtenance, or his
mind with reading. But when he was reading, he
drew his eyes along over the leaves, and his heart
ſearcht into the ſenſe, but his voice and tongue
were altogether ſilent.

2. Oft-times when we were preſent (for no
man was debarred of coming to him, nor was
it his faſhion to be told of any body that came
to ſpeake with him) wee ſtill ſaw him read-
ing to himſelfe, and never otherwiſe: ſo that
having long ſate in ſilence (for who durſt be
ſo bold as to interrupt him ſo intentive to his
ſtudy?) we were faine to depart. We con-
jectured, that the ſmall time which he gave for
the repairing of his minde, he retyr'd himſelf
from the clamour of other mens buſineſſes, being
unwilling to be taken off for any other im-
ployment: and he was warie perchance too,
leſt ſome hearer being ſtrucke into ſilence,
and eager upon it, if the Author hee read

should deliver any thing obscurely, he should be put to it to expound it; or to discusse some of the harder questions: so that spending away his time about this work, he could not turn over so many Volumes as he desired: although peradventure the preserving of his voice (which a little speaking would weaken) might be a just reason for his reading to himself. But with what intent soever he did it, that man certainly had a good meaning in it.

3. But verily no opportunity could I obtain of propounding my demands, as I desired, to that so holy an Oracle of thine, his breast, unless the thing might be heard very briefly. But those *commotions* in me, required to find him at his best leisure, that I might poure them out before him; but never could they find him so. Yet heard I him every Sunday, preaching the Word of Truth rightly to the People; by which that apprehension of mine was more and more confirmed in me, that all those knots of crafty calumnies, which those our * deceivers had knit in prejudice of the Holy Books, might well enough be untied.

4. But so soon as I understood withall, That Man, created by thee after thine own image, was not so understood by thy spiritual sonnes, (whom of our *Catholic Mother* thou hast begotten by thy Grace) as if they once believed or imagined thee to be made up into an humane shape: although I had not the least suspicion, nor so much as a confused notion, in what strange manner a spiritual substance should be: yet blushing did I rejoyce, that I had not so many yeers barked against the *Catholic* faith, but against the *fictions* of carnal ima-

ginations. * The Murtherers.

ginations.

inations. But herein had I been rash and impious, that what I ought to have learned by enquiry, I had spoken of as condemning. For thou, O the most high, and the most near; the most secret, and yet most present with us; hast not such limbs, of which some be bigger, and some smaller; but art wholly every where, circumscribed in no certain place: nor art thou like these *corporal* shapes; yet hast thou made man after thine own image, and behold, from head to foot is he contained in some certain *being*.

CHAP. IV.

Of the Letter, and the Spirit.

BEing thus ignorant therefore in what manner this Image of thine should subsist; I something earnestly propounded the doubt, *how* that was to be believed? but did not triumphingly oppose against it, as if it peremptorily should according to *the Letter* be beleaved. The anxiety therefore of resolving what certainty I was to hold did so much the more sharply even gnaw my very bowels, by how much the more ashamed I was, that having been so long deceived by the promise of *certainties*, I had with a childish error and stubbornesse prated up and down of so many *uncertainties*, and that as confidently as if they had been *certainties*. For that they were meer falsehoods, it clearly appeared to me afterwards: yea, even already was I *certain*, that they were at least *uncertain* and that I had all this while believed them for *certain*; when as (namely) out of a blind & contentious humour, I accused thy *Catholike Church*, w^{ch} though I had not yet found to teach *truly*, yet found I it not

to teach what I heartily accused it for teaching. In this manner was I first *confounded*, and then *converted*: and I much rejoyced, O my God, that thy only Church, the body of thine only Son, (wherein the name of Christ * had been put upon me being yet an *Infant*) did not relish these childish toys, nor maintained any such *Tenet* in her sound *Doctrine*, as to crowd up the Creator of this All, under the shape of humane members, into any proportions of a place, which, though never so great and so large, should yet be terminated and surrounded.

2. And for this I rejoyced also, for that the *Old Scriptures* of the *Law* and the *Prophets*, were laid before me now, to be perused, not with that eye to which they seemed most absurd before, when as I misliked thy *Holy ones* for thinking so and so, whereas indeed they thought not so: and for that with joyfull heart I heard *Ambrose* in his *Sermons* to the people, most diligently oftentimes recommend this Text for a Rule unto them, *The letter killeth, but the Spirit giveth life*: & for that those things, which taken according to the letter, seemed to teach perverse doctrines, he spiritually laid open unto us.

* The Primitive fashion it was, to impose the name when the party was first admitted to be a Catechumenus, or when he desired baptism. This had Saint Augustine done in a sicknes, being a child, as before he told us. This name was after given up a little before the Baptisme, and again repeated both at Baptisme and Confirmation. And whereas he here speaks of the name of Christ: it means of the custome of calling them Christ as soon as they gave up their names: the day after they were styled Catechumens, the day after that were they exorcised. As is plainly in the great Council of Constantinople, Canon 25. And so Saint Augustine himselfe in divers places.

having

having taken off the veyle of the mystery; teaching nothing in it that offended me, though such things he taught, as I knew not as yet, whether they were true or no. For I all this while kept my heart from assenting to any thing, fearing to fall headlong; but by this hanging in suspence I was the worse killed: for my whole desire was to be made well assured of those things which I saw not, as I was certain that *seven and three makes ten*.

3. For I was not so mad yet, as not to think that this last *proposition* might not by demonstration be comprehended; wherefore I desired to have other things as clearly demonstrated as this; whether (namely) those things should be *corporeal*, which were not present before my senses, or *spiritual*, whereof I knew not yet how to conceive, but after a *corporeal* manner. But by beleeving might I have been cured, that so the eye-sight of my soule being cleared, might some way or other have been directed toward thy truth, which is the same eternall day, and in no point failing. But as it happens usually to him that having had experience of a bad Physician, is fearful afterwards to trust himself with a good: so was it with the state of my soule, which could no wayes be healed^a but by beleeving; and lest it should beleeve falsehoods, it refused to be cured: resisting in the mean time thy hands, who hast prepared for us the *Medicines of faith*, and hast applied them to the diseases of the whole world, and given unto them^b so great Authority.

The other Translator notes upon it, That the way of knowing in Religion, is by first beleeving. True; but not not in the Popish Faith, (which he means) to beleeve as the Church of Rome beleeves. Saint Augustine meant not such a Faith. Ex tantam illi's auctoritatem tribuisti. This the other Translator

rather maliciously misinterprets, with a purpose to weaken the Authority of the holy Scriptures, the Medicine of Faith by fakes of: Turning the words, And recommended them to mankind by so great Authority: as if all the Authority were in Gods recommending, & none else in the Scriptures. For upon

CHAP. V.

Of the Authority and necessary use of the holy Bible.

1. **F**rom henceforth therefore I began first of all to esteem better of the catholic Doctrine, and also to think that It did with more modesty, and without any deceit, command many things to be beleaved, notwithstanding it were not there demonstrated, * either what it should be, or to what purpose it should serve, nor yet what it should not be, than in the Manichees doctrine, upon a rash promise of great knowledge, expose my easiness of belief first of all unto dirision, & suffer afterwards to many most fabulous & absurd things to be therefore imposed upon me to believe, because they could not be demonstrated. Next of all, thou Lord, by little and little, with a gentle and most merciful hand, working and rectifying my heart; even while I took into my consideration how innumerable things I otherwise beleaved, which I had never seen, nor was present at while they were in doing: like as those many reports in the History of several Nations, those many relations of places and of Cities, which I had never seen: so many reports likewise of friends, so many of Physicians, so many of these and these men, which unlesse we should beleave, we should do nothing at all in this life: Last of all, I considered, with how unalterable an assurance I

* Here I suspect St. Augustine Cypre to be imposed; but it is not much materiall.

beleaved

believed, of what parents I was descended; which I could not otherwise come to know, had I not believed it upon *their* say: persuadedst me at last, that not they who believed thy *Bible*, (which with so great authority thou hast settled almost among all Nations) but those who believed it not, were to be blamed: nor were those men to be listened unto, who would say perchance, *How knowest thou those Scriptures to have been imparted unto mankind, by the Spirit of the only true, and most true God?* Seeing this fundamental point was above all the rest to be believed; and that because no wrangles of all those cavilling Questions, whereof I had read so many controverted amongst the *Philosophers*, could so far enforce me, as that I should at any time not believe *Thee* to be whatsoever thou wert, (though *what*, I knew not) or that the government of human businesses should not belong unto *thee*. Thus much though I sometimes believed more strongly, and more weakly other-whiles, yet I ever believed both that thou wert God, and hadst a care of us, though I were utterly ignorant, either what was to be thought of thy *substance*, or what way led or brought back again towards thee.

3. Seeing therefore mankind would prove too weak to find out the *truth*, by the way of evident *Reason*; and even for this cause was there need of the Authority of *Holy Writ*: I began now to believe, that thou wouldst by no means have estated such *excellency* of authority upon that *Book* all the world

* *Here the Authority by which the Scriptures be settled, is originally attributed to God himself, and not to the Church as the Popish Translator would have it. See our note upon 1st Cor. 14. 37.*

* *Here again the Popish Translator notes in the Margin. The over,*

Authority of the Church. *whereas S. Augustine speaks of the authority of the Scriptures. Wisfull Sophistry.*

had it not been thy express pleasure to have thine own self both *believed* in by means of it, & *fought* by it also. For those absurdities w^{ch} in those *Scriptures* were wont heretofore to offend me, after I had heard divers of them expounded probably, I referred now to the depth of the *mystery*: yet, & the *Authority* of that *Book* appeared so much the more venerable, and so much the more *worthy* of our religious credit, by how much the readier at hand it was for ALL to read upon, preserving yet the *Majesty* of the *Secret*, under the *profoundnesse* of the meaning, offering it self unto ALL in words most open, and in a *style* of speaking most humble, and exercising the intention of such as are not light of heart; that it might by that meanes receive ALL into its common bosome, and through narrow passages waite over some few towards thee: yet are these few a good many more then they would have been, had it not obtained the eminency of such high authority, nor allured on those companies with a bosome of holy humility. These things then I thought upon, and thou wert with me: I sighed, and thou heardst me; I wavered up and down, and thou didst guide me; I wandred through the broad way of this world, yet didst thou not forsake me.

* Mark this, ye Papists. 1. What high terms he gives the Scriptures: whereas you call them *Anse of War*, a *strongman*, *Hofe* &c. 2. Here's liberty for all to read them; you lock them under an unknown tongue, from the *Loytie*. 3. Here are they said plain; but you fray the people with their difficulty, *profundnesse*, and danger.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

The misery of the Ambitious shown by the example of a Beggar.

I Gaped after Honours, gains, wedlock; and thou laugh'dst at me. In these desires of mine I underwent most bitter hardships: wherein thou wert so much the more gracious unto me, as thou didst lesse suffer any thing to grow sweet unto me, which was not thou thy self. Behold now my heart O Lord, who wouldst I should remember all this, that I might now confesse it unto thee. Let now my soul cleave fast unto thee, which thou hast freed from that last holding birdlime of death. How wretched was it at that time! it had utterly lost the sense of its own wound; but thou didst lance it, that forsaking all other things, it might be converted unto thee, who art above all, and without whom all things would turn to nothing; that it might (I say) be converted, and be healed. How miserable therefore was I at that time! and how didst thou deal with me, to make me sensible of my misery! that same day namely, when I provided my self for an *Oration* in praise of the Emperor, wherein I was to deliver many an untruth, and to be applauded notwithstanding, even by those that knew I did so. Whilst my heart panted after these cares, and boyled again with the fervour of these consuming thoughts; walking along one of the streets of *Millan*, I observed a poor beggar-man (half-drunk I believe) very jocund, & pleasant upon the matter; but looking mournfully at it, fell to discours with my friends then in company with me about the many sorrows occasion'd by our own madness; for that by all such endeavors of ours,

under

(under which I then laboured, and galled by the spurs of desire, drag'd after me the burthen of mine own infelicity, increasing it by the dragging) we had mind of nothing but how to attain some kind of iocundnesse, whither that beggar-man had arrived before us, who should never perchance come at all thither. For that which he had attained unto by means of a few pence, (and those beggars too) the same was I now plotting for by many a troublesome turning and winding; namely, to compass the joy of a temporary felicity.

2. For that beggar-man verily enjoyed no true joy; but yet I with those my ambitious desires, hunted after a much uncertainer. And certainly that fellow was iocund, but I perplexed; he void of care, I full of feares. But should any man demand of me, whether I had rather be merry or sorrowfull? I would answer, merry. Again, were I asked whether I had rather be in that beggar-mans case, or in mine own at that time? I would make choice of my own, though thus overgone with cares and feares: yet was this upon a wilfulnesse; for was it out of any true reason? For I ought not to preferre my self before that beggar, because I was more learned then he, seeing my Learning was not it that made me joyfull: but I sought rather to please men by it; not so much to instruct them, as meerly to delight them. For this cause didst thou even break my bones with the staffe of thy correction. Away with those therefore from my soules, who lay unto it, There is much difference* betwixt the occasions of a mans rejoycing.

*The former Translator twice turns this phrase from S. Augustines purpose.

That beggar-man-rejoyced in his drunken-
ness, thou desiredst to rejoyce in a purchased glory.
That glory, Lord? That which is not in thee.
For even as his was no true joy, no more was mine
my true glory: besides which, it utterly overturn-
ed my soul. He was that night to digest his drunk-
ennesse: but many a night had I slept with mine,
and had risen again with it, and was to sleep again,
and again to rise with it, I know not how often.
But is there indeed any difference in the grounds
of a mans rejoycing? I know there is, and that
the joy of a faithfull hope is incomparably be-
yond such a vanity. Yea, and at that very time
was there much difference betwixt him and I: for
he verily was the happier man; not onely for that
he was thoroughly drencht in mirth, when as my
soulds were grip't with cares: but also for that
by his lusty *bowling*, he had gotten good store of
Wine; whereas I, by flattering Oration, sought af-
ter a meere puffe of pride. Much to this purpose
said I at that time to my deare Companions: and
I markt by them how it fared with me; and I found
my selfe in an *ill taking*. I griev'd for it, by which
I doubled my *ill taking*: and when any prosperity
lailed upon me, it irkt me to catch at it; for that
almost before I could lay hand upon it, away it flew
from me.

*Some Copies read it optando, alluding to the beggars
praying for his good masters: But the last read it po-
tando, as I do.*

CHAP.

C H A P. VII.

He dissuades Alipius from his excessive delight in the
 * Circensian games.

1. **W**E joyntly bemoaned our selves for this, who lived like friends together; but chiefly and most familiarly did I speak hereof with *Alipius* & *Nebridius*; of whom *Alipius* was born in the same town with me, whose Parents were of the chief rank there, & himself younger than I; he had also studied under me, first, when I set up School in our own Town, and at *Carthage* afterwards. He loved me very much, because I seemed of a good disposition to him, and well learned; and I loved him againe for his great towardlines to vertue, which was eminent enough to one of no greater years. But that whirlepir of those *Carthaginian* fashions, (amongst whom those idler spectacles are hotly followed) had already swallowed up him in immoderate delight of the *Circensian* sports. But meanwhile that he was miserably tumbled up & down that way, and I professing *Rhetorick* there, had set up a publike school; he made no use of me as his master, by reason of some unkindnesse risen betwixt his father and me. Although therefore I had found how dangerously he doted upon the *Race-place*, & that I were grievously perplexed that he took the course to undo so good a hope as was conceiv'd of him, or rather as me thought he had already undone it: yet had I no means either privately to advise him or by way of constraint to reclaim him by interest of a friendship, or the awe of a Master. For I suppos'd verily that he had had the same

* These were Chariot-races, &c.

opinion

union of me with his Father; but he was not of
 my mind; laying aside therefore his fathers quar-
 rel, he began to salute me, coming sometimes into
 my School, hear a little and be gone. By this means
 I began to deal with him, that he should not for a
 blind and headstrong desire of such vain pastimes,
 lose so good a wit.

Burchou, O Lord, thou who fittest at the
 head of all thou hast created, hadst not forgotten
 me, who was one day to prove a chief Priest of thy
 sacraments; and that his amendment might plain-
 ly be attributed to thy self, thou truly broughtest
 me about by my means, who yet knew nothing of it.
 When as one day I sate in my accustomed place,
 with my Schollers before me, in came he, saluted
 me, sate him down, and applyed his mind to what I
 was handling. I had by chance a passage then in hand,
 such that I might the better illustrate it seem'd ve-
 ry reasonable to me to make use of a *similitude* bor-
 rowed from the *Circensian races*; both to make that
 which I insinuated more pleasant & more plain, &
 to give a biting quippe withal, at those whom that
 sin had enthral'd. God thou know'st that I lit-
 tle thought at that time of curing *Alipius* of that
 silence. But he took it to himself, and conceived
 that I meerly intended it towards him. And what
 another man would have made an occasion of be-
 coming angry with me, that good young man made a
 reason of being offended at himself, and to love
 me the more fervently. For thou hadst said it long
 ago, and put it into thy Book, *Rebuke a wise man
 and he will love thee.* Prov. 9.8.

But for my part, I meant no rebuke toward him,
 with thou who makest use of al me, both knowing
 or not

not knowing, in that order which thy self knowest
and that order is just. Out of my heart and tongue
thou wrought'st burning coales, by which thou
mightest set on fire that languishing disposition
his, of which so good hopes had been conceived
and mightest cure it. Let such a one conceal his
praises, who considers not of thy mercies, which my
very marrow confesses unto thee. For he upon that
speech, heav'd himself out of that pit so deep, where
in he had wilfully been plunged, and had been
hoodwink't with the wretched pastime of it; and
rowzed up his minde with a well resolved mo-
ration: whereupon all those filths of the *Circenian*
pastimes flew off from him, nor came he ever
to them afterwards. Upon this, prevailed he with his
unwilling Father, that he might be one of the
Schollers. He yielded and condescended: so that
Alipius beginning to be my *Auditor* again, was
muffled in the same superstition with me, loving
that ostentation of continency in the *Manichæans*, which
he supposed to be true and unfeined. But verily
no better it was than a senselesse and a seducing
continency, insnaring precious souls, not able
to reach to the height of vertue, and easie to be
guiled with a faire outside, of that which was but
well-shadowed and a feined vertue.

CHAP. VIII.

*Alipius is taken with a delight of the Sword-play
which before he hated.*

HER not forsaking that worldly course which
his parents had charm'd him to pursue,

** These gladiators or Fencers, were maintained by great numbers to please the people, would often exhibit them upon the stage, to fight at sword, in good earnest for their lives: he was accounted the bravest fellow, that took his wounds, or death with least shrinking.*

He me to *Rome*, to study the *Lovers*, where he was
 carried away with an incredible greediness of see-
 ing the *Sword-players*. For being utterly against
 and detesting such spectacles, when he was one day
 by chance met withall by divers of his acquaint-
 ance and fellow students coming from dinner, they
 with a familiar kind of violence haled him (yehe-
 mently denying and resisting them) along into the
 Amphitheater, on a time when these cruel and
 deadly shewes were exhibited; he thus protesting:
 Though you hale my body to that place, and there
 force me, can you after that force me to give my mind
 and lend my eyes to these shewes? I shall there-
 fore be absent even while I am present, and so shall
 I overcome both you and them too. His Compani-
 ons hearing these words, led him on never the slow-
 er, desirous perchance to try, whether he could be
 as good as his word or no. When they were come
 thither, and had taken their places as they could,
 all that Round grew hot with merciless Passi-
 onnes.

(* The Stage.)

1. But *Alipius* closing up the doors of his eyes,
 forbade his minde to range abroad after such mil-
 chiefs: and I would he had stopped his eares also.
 For upon the fall of one in the fight, a mighty cry
 of the people beating strongly upon him, he (being
 overcome by curiosity, and as it were prepared,
 whatsoever it were, to contemn it with his sight, and
 to overcome it) opened his eyes, and was stricken
 with a deeper wound in his soul, then the other was
 in his body, whom he desired to behold: and he pre-
 sently fell more miserably than the *Sword-player*
 did, upon whose fall that mighty noise was raised.
 Which noise eered through his eares, and unlockt
 his

his eyes to make way for the striking and beating down of his soul; (which was bold rather than valiant hitherto; and so much the weaker, for it presumed now on it self, which ought onely have trusted upon thee :) For so soon as he saw another mans blood, he at the very instant drew down a kind of *saugeness*: nor did he turn away his head, but fixed his eye upon it, drinking up the awares the very *Furies* themselves, being mistaken with the barbarousnesse of the sword. And even drunk again with that bloody passion. Nor was he now the man he was when he came first thither, but become one of the throng he came to, yea, an entire companion of theirs that brought him thither. What shall I say more? He looked out he cryed out for company, he was inflamed with it, carried home such a measure of madnesse as spured him on to come another time: and that not onely in their companies who first inticed him, but to run before them too, yea and hale on others also. Yet out of all this didst thou with a most strong & merciful hand pluck him notwithstanding, and taughtest him to repose no more confidence in himself, but upon thee only. But this was not till a great while after.

CHAP. IX.

Alipius was apprehended for suspicion of treason.

BUT thus much laid he up in his memory, for a preparative hereafter: as that also which fell out when he was yet my Scholler at *Carthage*, where meditating at noon-time once in the market place upon something he was to say by heart, (as scholars use to be exercis'd) thou suffer'dst him to be apprehended.

the Officers of the Market-place for a Thiefe. For no other cause, I suppose, didst thou O our God, suffer it, but that he, who was hereafter to prove so great a man; should now begin to learne in judging of Causes, no man was to be condemned out of a rash credulity. For as he was walking by himself before the place of Judgment, with writing tables and his pen, behold, a young man of the number of the Lawyers^a (who was the right Thiefe indeed) privily bringing a Hatchet with him (Alipius never perceiving him) gate in as far as the leaden^b grate-works, which look down into the Mint-house, and began to chop in under the lead. But the noyse of the Hatchet being heard, the Minters that were underneath began to mutter;

Quidam Scholasticorum. No word hath more altered the signification. But in those days, and ancienter, it signified a Lawyer or Advocate. So in the Council of Sardica, Can. 10. vel ex hoc Subdulticus, a lawyer from the Court or Bar. The Greek word is the same with the Latine. Then came it to be given to Rhetoricians, then to Poets, (as Prudentius was called Hecmarum Scholasticus:) Physicians, Musicians, any professor of the liberal Sciences, were so stiled. He that first made the law for the Communion, was called Johannes Scholasticus. The name settled upon the Schoo men, but most anciently the lawyers had it. b Cancellion. This was the ancient fence or ornament for Courts of Justice. Hence the Judge came to be called Cancellarius, and the Court The Chancery. Cancells being taken peried from the Churches, hence had their name also, c Vico Argentario. This could be no street of silver-smiths, or Silver Street, as the former Translator turns it, (for what need be break into a street that may be might easily come in) But the way. Ancients had their Courts of Justice, their Exchequer & Mint-house all together oftentimes, and all in their Forum or publick Market-place. There stood Saturns Temple at Rome, which was their Exchequer and Mint-house: This Saturns Temple was in the Market-place: there were also their Courts of Justice: so was it at Millan belike, and therefore had their Forum interdictum, Officers, or Washmen, as before he said.

and

and sent forth to apprehend whomever they should find. But the Thief hearing their voices, ran away leaving his Hatcher behind him, fearing to be taken with it.

2. *Alipius* now, who spyed him not when he came in, well perceived him as he went out, and what speed he made away. And being desirous to know what the matter was, went into the place where finding the Hatcher, he stood still a while admiring and considering upon it; when beholding those that were sent, find him alone with the hatcher in his hand, startled by the noise whereof, they had made thither: They lay hold upon him, and carry him away, and gathering the neighbours dwelling in the Market-place about them, they congratulated one another for taking so notorious a Felon, leading him away to the Justice thereupon. *But what was *Alipius* to be instructed.* For presently, O Lord, comest thou to the succour of his innocence, whereof thou wert the only witness. For as he was led along, (either to prison or to execution) they encountered them a certain *Architect*, who had the charge of the publike buildings. Glad they were to meet him of all the rest, for that they were glad to come to him about suspicion of some good lost out of the Court or Market-place; that he might take notice at least by whom these kind of cheats were used to be plaid.

3. But that party had divers times seen *Alipius* at a certain Senators house, whom he often came to visite; who presently taking knowledge of him, took him aside by the hand, and privately enquired the occasion of that mischance, heard the whole carriage of the businesse from him, and with

that Rabble (all in an uprore, and threatening of Alipius) to go along with him. And to the House they came of that young Lawyer, who had committed the fact: where (behold) there was a Boy before the door, who was so little, as having not the wit to feare doing his Master any hurt by it, was likely enough to disclose the whole matter unto them. For he had followed his Master to the Market place. Whom so soon as ever Alipius remembered, he told the Architect of him: and he shewing the Hatchet to the Boy, askt him *whose that was?* (quoth he presently:) and being further questioned upon the matter, he discovered every thing. Thus was the burglary laid upon the Master of that house, and the rude multitude ashamed, which had already begun to insult over Alipius, who was hereafter to be a dispenser of thy Word, & an Examiner of many * Causes in thy Church, who were now better experienced and instructed, by this accident.

* If the Primitive Clergy meddled with matters of Justice, they had Saint Pauls Commission, 1 Cor. 6 which Pope Innocent in the Life of S. Augustine quotes: who shew how many hours S. Augustine spent this way. He quotes also, 1 Tim. 5. 10. Those that sinne, rebuke before all. And this is a Diatue signifying that there belongs more to a Justice, than the making of a Matrimonie. He quotes also Eccl. 3. 19. I have made thee a Wretched man: yea, and as if this were a part of the Ministers duty, he quotes also in 1 Tim. 4. 2 Be instant: also, to correction, rebuke, &c. No Antiquary but knowes that the old Clergy had more authority in temporal matters then our Justices of Peace in England: yet here is begged at: But tis by hope that would have their Church lands Ploughed. The Lord Chamberlain, Keeper, Master of the Rolls, the 6. Iurys, Herald, Masters of the Chancery, &c. have hereinsue for the most part been Clergymen, when it was never better with the Land. Therefore, the old Canons forbid them to meddle in cases of blood, and that way they easily avoid. In Germany, I hope, the Ministers have more auth. viz. them in England.

CHAP. X.

Of the great integrity of Alipius, and of Nebridius coming.

1. **T**His *Alipius* therefore I afterwards light upon at Rome, where he knit in with me with a most strong Tye: whence he went with me to Milan, both that he might not break company with me, and that he might withall practise something in the Law he had applyed himself unto: and that he fulfill his parents desire, more then his own. There went he through the office of an *Assessor of Justice*, with an admirable freedome from bribery in respect of his other fellows: he wondring at others rather, who preferred gold before honesty. His disposition was tempted besides, not with a bait of Covetousness only, but with the spurre of feare also. At Rome he had been *Assessor* to the *Lord Treasurer of Italy*.

2. There was at that time a most potent Senator, to whose favours many stood ingaged, whom many also were much afraid of. This great man would needs by his usuall power have a thing passe the Court, which by the Laws was utterly forbidden. *Alipius* crost it; a bribe was promised him: he with all his heart despis'd it: Threats were used

* *Roma affidebat Comiti largitionum Italicarum.* The Lord high Treasurer of the Western Empire was called *Comes largitionum*: he had sixe other Treasurers in so many provinces under him, whereof he of Italy was one: Under whom *Alipius* had some Office of Judicature, something like (though far inferior) to our Barons of the Exchequer. See *St. Henry Spelmans Glossary*, in the word *Comes*. And *Cassiodorus*, var. l. 3. c. 40. The other Translator turns it, *Assessor* to the Prefect of the Contributioners of Italy. 12.

he trampled them underfoot: all men in the mean while admiring so rare a spirit, which neither desired such a man (so infinitely famed for the innumerable means he had, either to do a man a good or a forward turn) to be his friend, nor feared to have him for his enemy. As for the Judge himself, in whose Court *Alipius* was a Justice, although for his own part he were unwilling to have it passe, yet did he not openly crosse it, but put the matter off to this *Alipius*; pretending that by him he was not suffered to do it: for verily if he should have offered it, *Alipius* would have gone off the Bench.

3. With this desire (and that in the way of his learning) was hee onely tempted; that (namely) he might get himself a Library at such under-prizes as the *Pretors* had their Books at. But consulting with Justice, he altered his purpose to the better; esteeming Equity to be more gainfull, by which he was prohibited that course, than Power could be, upon which he might take the liberty. All this hitherto said of him, is but little: He that is faithfull in that which is least, is faithfull also in much. Luk. 16. 10. Nor can that possibly be to no purpose spoken, which proceeded out of the mouth of thy Truth. If ye have not been faithfull in the unrighteous Mammon, who will commit to you trust true riches? ver. 11. And if ye have not been faithfull to that which is another mans, who shall give you that which is your own? ver. 12. Such a man as I have described, did at that time adjoyne himself unto me; and wavered in his purpose as I did what course of life was to be taken.

Septidius also, who having left his native Coun-

they neere *Carthage*, yea and *Carthage* it self, where for the most part he lived; leaving his fathers land which were very rich; leaving his own house, and a Mother behinde, who meant not (like mine) to follow after him; was by this time come to Milan, and for no other reason neither, but that he might bestow himself with me, in a most ardent desire after *Truth* and *wisdom*. Together with me he sisted, and with me he wavered; still continuing a most ardent searcher after happinesse, and a most acute examiner of the difficultest Questions. Thus were there now gotten together the mouths of three Beggars, fighting out their wants one to another, and waiting upon thee that thou mightest give them their meat in due season; *Psal. 145. 15.* And in much anguish of spirit (which by the disposing of my mercy, still followed our worldly affairs) looking towards the end, why we should suffer all this, darkness beclouded us: whereupon we turned away mourning to our selves, saying, *How long will things continue at this stay?* This we often said; but in saying so wee yet forsooke not our errours; for that wee yet discovered no certainty, which when we had forsaken them, we might betake our selves unto.

CHAP. XI.

He deliberates what course of life he had best to take.

1. **A**ND I admired extreamely, (pondering earnestly with my selfe, and examining of my memory,) what a deal of time I had consumed for that time and twenty years of mine age, in which

I began first to be inflamed with the study of wisdom, resolving that when I had found that, to surpass all those empty hopes, and lying phrenzies of vaine desires. And behold, I was now going into my *thirtie*. *by* years, still sticking in the same clay, still posselt with a greedinesse of enjoying things present, they as fast sitting and wasting my soule; I still saying to my selfe, *To morrow I shall find it out, it will appeare very plainly and I shall understand it: and behold, Faustus the Manichee will come, and cleer every thing.* O you great men, of the *Academicks* opinion, who affirm, *That no certain course for the ordering of our lives can possibly be comprehended!* Nay, let us rather search the more diligently, and not despaire of finding: for behold, those things in the Ecclesiastical Books are not absurd to us now, which sometimes seemed so: for they may be otherwise, yea and that honestly understood. I will henceforth pitch my foot upon that step, on which (being yet a child) my parents placed me, untill such time as the cleer Truth may be found out.

1. But whereabouts shall it be sought for? When shall it be sought for? *Ambrose* is not at leisure, nor have we our selves any spare time to read. But where shall we finde the Books to read on? Whence, or when can we procure them, or from whom borrow them? Let set times be appointed, and certain houres distributed for the health of our souls. We now begin to conceive great hopes; The *Catholike Faith* teaches not what we thought it had, whereof we vainly accused it: The learned men of that Faith hold it for a detestable opinion, to believe God to be comprehended under the figure of our humane

and doe we doubt to knock, that the other mysterie
may be also opened unto us? All the fore-noon
our Schollers take up, what shall we do the rest
the day? Why go we not about this? But when
* then shall we visit our greater friends, of whose
favours we stand in need? What time shall we
have to compose some discourses to sell to scholars?
When shall we recreate our selves, and unbend our
minds from those cares they are too earnest upon?
Let all these thoughts perish, let us give over these
vain and empty fancies, and betake our selves sole-
ly to search out the *Truth*. Life is miserable,
Death uncertain; if it steales upon us on the sud-
den, in what case shall we go out of the world? and
where shall we then learn what we have here neg-
lected? Or rather, shall we not there suffer the
due punishment of our negligence? If it be ob-
jected, *That Death will quite cut off both care and
sense of all these things, and there's an end of them.*
Rather let that be first enquired into. But God
forbid that we should be of that mind. It is not for
no purpose, 'tis no idle toy, that so eminent a height
of authority which the *Christian Faith* hath, is dis-
fused all the world over. Should then such & so great
blessings be by the Divine providence wrought for
us, if so be that together with the death of the body,
the life of the soule should be brought to nothing
also? Wherefore then delay we time any longer,
that giving over our hopes of this world, we might
give up our selves wholly to seek after God and a
happy life.

* Here's an objection of flesh and blood, against the motions of
Gods Spirit.

3. But stay a while: * Even these worldly things are sweet, and they have some (and that no small) pleasure. We are not too lightly to divorce our purposes from them, for that it were a foul shame to make love again to them. See, 'tis no such great matter to obtain some Office of honour; and what should a man desire more in this world? We have store of potent friends, though we had nothing else; let us put our selves forward, some place of preferment or other may be bestowed upon us: or a Wife at least may be had with a good portion, to ease our charges: and this shall be the full point of our desires. Many great persons, and those worthy of our imitation, have addicted themselves to the study of wisdom in the state of marriage.

4. Whilest these things we discoursed of, and these winds of uncertainties changed up and down and drove my heart this way and that way; the time still passed on, but I was slow to be converted to my Lord God; and from one day to another I deferred to live in thee, but deferred not daily to die within my self. Being thus in love with an happy life, yet feared I to find it in its proper place, and fleeing from it, I sought after it. I thought I should be too miserable, should I be debarred of the imbracements of a Woman: as for that medicine of thy mercy which should cure that infirmity. I never thought of it, and all because I had no experience of it. As for continency, I supposed it to be in the liberty of our own * power, (of which I

** Why then do the Papists inforce so many young maids and men to vow, as if it were in their own power? And why suffer they those to keep the habite and place of Chastity, when on their Vindicator knowes they have broken the Vow of Chastity?*

for my part was not guilty) being so foolish with all, that I knew it to be written, * *That no man can preserve his chastity unlesse thou give it.* And thou thou verily wouldest give it, if with cordial groanings I did knock at thine eares, and with a settled faith did cast my cares upon thee.

CHAP. XII.

A Contention betwixt Alipius and Augustine, about Marriage and Single life.

Alipius indeed was the man that kept me from marrying of a Wife; alladging, That by no means could we enjoy so much undistracted leasure as to live together in the love of Wisdome (as we long since had desired) should I take that course. For he himself was so chaste that way, that it was a wonder to see: for he had made tryall of that Act in the beginning of his youth, but having not engaged himself by it, he was sorry for it rather and despised it, living from that time untill this present most continently. For my part, I opposed him with the examples of such men, as in the state of Matrimony had professed wisdome, and were * acceptable unto God, and conversed faithfully

* *Promeruisse Deum: Which the Popish Translator turns, And were gratefull unto God. Very well; gratefull, that is, acceptable. Seeing then promerita is but acceptableness, why should merita (the single word) have so sa-vry a significati-on in Popish doctrine, as merita? Let them mince the matter with Log ke how they can, (by their distinction of condignity and congruity of merits) sure they are gone by the Lames of Gram-mar; which admits no such significati-on of promerito, or of merita, unlesse perchance our Dictionaries have the word Me-rits.*

not in the genuine signification, but to learn to understand what the Papists mean by it.

with their acquaintances: of the greatnesse of whose spirit J was far enough short. Thus J, delighted with the disease of the flesh, and with the deadly sweetnes of it, drew my shackles along with me, much afraid to have them knockt off: and as if my wound had been too hard rub'd by it, J put back his good perswasions, as it were the hand of one that would unchain me.

2. Moreover, even by me did the *Serpent* speak unto *Alipius*, preparing and laying by my tongue, most pleasurable snares in his way, in which his honest and yet free feet might be intangled. For when as he much admired at me (whom he slightly esteemed not of) for sticking so fast in the bird-line of that pleasure, as resolutely to affirm (so oft as we had speech about it) that J could by no means lead a single life: and that J used this for an argument, (when J saw him so much wonder at the matter,) That there was a great deal of difference betwixt the pleasure which he had tryed by stealth and snatches, (which he scarce now remembred, and might easily therefore despise) and the delights of my daily lying at it; unto which might but the honest name of *Marriage* be added, he would not wonder then why J had not the power to content that course of living: even he began to desire to be married; not as if overcome with the lust of so poor a pleasure, as all out of a curiosity: for he desired, as he said, to know what manner of content that should be, without which my life (which was to him so great contentment) seemed not a life so much, as a punishment unto me.

3. For his mind, that was free as yet from the clogge, stood amazed at my thraldome: and out of that amazement, he proceeded to an itch of trying: likely enough to have come to the experience of it; and from the bare experience to fall perchance into that bondage he in me so much admired at, seeing he was so willing to enter into a *Covenant with death*: for *He that loves danger, shall fall into it*. For the conjugall honour (if any there be in the office of well-ordering the duties of a married life, and of having of children, moved us but little. But that which for the most part did most violently afflict me (already made a slave to it) was the custom of satisfying an insatiable lust; but him, that was hereafter to be enslaved, did an admiration serve up to it. In this case we continued, untill thou, O most High, not forsaking our lowlineffe, having compassion of us that stood in need of it, didst at length fetch us off, by admirable and secret devices.

CHAP. XIII.

Augustine layes out for a wife.

1. **A**ND much ado there was to get me a Wife: Now went I a wooing, and then was the Wench promised me: my *Mother* taking most pains to beat the bargain: her purpose in it being, that when I were married once, * the wholesome water of Baptisme might cleanse me, (towards which she much rejoyced to see me daily fitting my selfe,) observing that all her own desires, and thy promises, were to be fulfilled in my imbracing of the

* See what we have before noted, p. 36. in the marg.

Faith. At which time verily, both mine own inquieties, and her desires, (and that with strong cries of our hearts) did we daily beg of thee, that thou wouldest vouchsafe by some vision to discover something unto her concerning my future marriage: but thou wouldest never do it.

2. Yet saw she indeed certain vain and phantastical overtures, such as the earnestnesse of her spirit, so busied about this matter, drew together. These she told me of; not yet with that confidence she was wont, when thy self afforded any visions unto her, but slighting them, as it were. For she could, as she said, (through I know not what relish she had, which in words she could not expresse) easily enough discern how much difference there was betwixt thy Revelations, and the dreames of her own spirit. Yet went we forward earnestly, and the parents good-will was asked: but the Maid wanted two yeers of being marriageable. Yet, for that I had a good liking to her, I was content to stay so long for her.

CHAP. XIV.

A new Plot laid and broken.

AND we were many friends of us, which debated of the matter: who conferring about the detesting these turbulent molestations of a worldly life, had now resolved, that sequestering ourselves from company, to live retiredly: and to lay this ground for our retirement, that what stock every man was able to make, we should put together, & make one household of all: that through the plain dealing of a common friendship, one thing should not be this mans, and another thing that mans;

mans; but what stock should be made up out of every mans particular, should in the whole belong unto the interest of every single person, and all together, unto all in generall. It seemed to us, that there might neere be some ten persons in this kind of Academy: some of which were very rich men, and Romanians especially, our Towns-man (from Child-hood a very familiar friend of mine) whom the hot pursuit of his businessse had brought up to Court: who was most earnest of all the rest for this project: and therein was his voice of great authority, and that because his estate was much fairer than any of the rest.

And we had set it downe, that two Officers should be yearly chosen, for the making of necessary provisions, whilst the rest were quiet. But so soon as we began to consider better of it, whether our Wives, (which some of us already had, and others resolved to have shortly) would endure all this, or not: all that so well laid plot fell to peeces in our hands, was utterly dashed and cast aside. Thence returned we again to our old sighings, & groanings.

* *Quem tunc graves estus negotiorum suorum ad Comitatum attraxerant. This the former Translator turns, The place of our residence. The man had ill luck to misse as comfortable place. He help him. Comitatus was like the place where our Termes be kept: the Imperial Chamber aspires in Germany, may rightly be called Comitatus: The Emperours appointed it in any good Towne where they pleased: though sometimes were not there; and at this time (for those parts) it was at Millau. So plainly says Possidonius in the life of Saint Augustine. Comitatus is the place whither subjects repair for the dispatch of such businessse, as depends upon the Kings Courts of Justice. London is our Comitatus, the Kings Chamber for the South, York for the North. This word is familiar to the Civil Lawyers. So the eighth and ninth Canons of the Council of Nicaea.*

and wandrings and to our former following those broad and beaten wayes of the world *Mass. 7. 13.* for that many thoughts were in our heart, but thy sunsaile standeth for ever; *Pl. 33. 11.* Out of which counsel didst thou deride ours; & laid the ground-work for thine own; purposing to give us meat in due season, and to open thy hand, and to fill our souls with thy blessing, *Psal. 145.*

CHAP. XV.

His old Concubine goes away from him, and he gets another.

MY sins in the mean time were multiplied, and that Mistris of mine which was wont to be my bedfellow (the hinderer as it were of my marriage) being pluckt away from my side, my heart cleaving unto her, was broken by this means. and wounded, yea and blood drawne of it. Home againe went she into Affrike, (Vowing unto * thee never to know man more)

* A Vow of Chastity, sayes the Popish Translators, and a goodly one too: How many such Nuns hath the Church of Rome, that then vow chastity, when they are satisfied with lust? But well it were they had no worse Nunnets, then such as was upon remorse of conscience, as this Whoore did. But this was a private Vow yet (which God knows how long she kept) and no formal Nunnery Vow; she carried not her portion into the Nunnery with her. Money is of the substance of the Nunnes now a dayes; Chastity is but a formality. She vows, not to know a man; but her money does not so; the Friars may know that. The Primitives admitted no Nunnes but pure Virgins: and if ever it could be proved, she had played false before her Admission, she was canonically to be put out of the house. Any crackt Chamber-maid will make as good a Nunne as the best now a dayes. Could Nunnes keep their Vow, I would never speak against their Order.

leaving a Bastard sonne with me, which I had begotten of her. But unhappy I, who had not the heart to imitate a *woman*, impatient now of all delay, as if it were two long yeeres before I was to enjoy her whom I went a wooing to, (being not so much a lover of wedlock, as a slave to lust) quickly procured another (though not a Wife) by whom that disease of my soule might be nursed up and kept alive, either as vigorous as it was, or more fierce upon it; and that as it were by the assistance of my naughty custome, continued from thence forward, till my advancement into the kingdome of marriage: nor was that wound of mine as yet cured, which had been made by the cutting away of my former Concubine; but after a most eager burning and anguish it festered, and still it pained me, though after a more dull, yet after a more desperate manner.

CHAP. XVI.

Of the immortality of the soule.

1. **P**raise be unto thee, glory be unto thee, O Fountain of mercies. I became more miserable, and thou neerer unto me. Thy right hand was ready by and by to pluck me out of the mire, and to wash me thoroughly, but I knew not yet of it: nor did any thing call me back from that deeper gulf of carnal pleasures, but only the feare of death, and of thy judgment to come: which, although divers opinions I conceived of it, yet never went it utterly out of my breast. I disputed in those dayes with my friends *Alipius* and *Nebrius*, concerning *The ends of Good & Evil*; determining, that *Epicurus* in my judgment should have wonne the Garland, had

had I not verily believed that there remained a life for the soule after the body was dead, and those Regions where severall deserving were rewarded, which *Epicurus* would not believe.

2. And I put the question, That suppose we were to be immorall, and were to live in perpetual enjoyment of bodily pleasure, and that without feare of losing, why should we not then be fully happy, and wherefore should we seek for any other thing? Little knowing that even this very thing was a part of my great misery, that being thus drowned and blinded, I could not discern that light of honesty and of beauty, (to be embraced for its own sake) which the eye of the flesh cannot kenne, it being only by the inner man to be discerned. Nor did I consider, wretch that I was, out of what vein it flowed, that even these conceits (filthy ones as they were) I with such pleasure conferred of with my friends (according to the opinion I then was of) how great abundance soever of carnal pleasures beside I enjoyed. Which friends verily I loved for their own sakes, and I found my self to be in like manner beloved of them again.

* *Et tractus meritorum.* This the Popish Translator turns, And that which Merits do import. Meer non-sense. And notes in his margin, Merits. As if the place made for Popish merits. Doughtily proved. As if *Augustine*, who was yet no Divine, knew any thing of the Doctrine of Merits. He talks before of the last Judgment, and here he talks of the places of punishment or reward, which *Epicurus* Philosophy knew nothing of. If he pleases to look his Dictionary, he shall find *Tractus* to signifie a Region or Countrey. He alludes to other Philosophers believing of the severall Regions of Hell and Elysium, which were both under the earth, but distinguished into severall Quarters or Regions. *Tractus* is the Accusative case plural.

3. Out upon these intricate wayes ! Woe unto that audacious soul of mine, which hoped, that had it forsaken thee, it should have had some better thing ! Turned it hath, and turned again, upon back, sides, and belly, yet found all places to be hard, and that thou art her *Rest* only. And behold, thou art neer at hand ; and from our wretched errors thou deliveredst us, and settledst us in thine own way, and doest comfort, and say thus unto us : *Run on, I will carry you ; yea, I will bring you to your journeyes end, and there also will I carry you.*



SAINT AUGUSTINES

Confessions.

The Seventh Book.

CHAP. I.

Now, rejelling corporeal Images, he began to know God to be incorporeal.



BY this time was that wicked and abominable time of my Youth dead, and I went on into a more solid Age : by how much the elder in years, so much the fouller in vanity ; who could not imagine any other kind of substance, than what

I saw with these eyes. Yet thought I not see thee, O God, to be comprehended unnder the figure of an humane body: since the time I began to hear any thing of *wisdom*, I alwayes avoided that: and I joyced to have found thus much in the faith of our *spirituall Mother*, thy *Catholike Church*. But what else I should think thee to be, I knew not. And I being but a man, (and so mean a man too) yet set I my self to believe thee to be the soveraign and onely true God; and that thou wert incorruptible, and inviolable, and unchangeable, with all the powers of my soul did I believe: because not knowing how nor which way, yet most plainly did I behold, and very sure I was, That that which may be corrupted, must needs be worse then that which cannot be corrupted; and that which cannot be violated, did I without any sticking at, preferre before that which was subject to be violated: and that which suffers no alteration, I judged to be much better then that which may suffer alteration.

1. My heart passionately cryed out upon all my former *phantasmes*; and with one blow I laid about me, to beat away all that fluttering troop of unclean *fancies*, from the eye of my mind. And lo, being yet scarce put off by the space of the twinkling of an eye, they came in multitudes again about me, they pressed upon my sight, and so beclouded it, that though I thought thee not to be of the shape of a *humane body*, yet was I constrained to imagine thee to be some *corporeal substance*, taking up vast spaces of place: and that, either *infused* into this world, or else *diffused* infinitely without it: yea, even of that *incorruptible, inviolable, and unchangeable*, which I preferred before *corruptible, & violable*,
and

and *changeable*, did I imagine thus. Because, whatsoever I deprived of these spaces, seemed to be *nothing* unto me, yea altogether *nothing*, not much as an *emptinesse* verily: just as if a body were taken out of its place, and the place should remain empty of any body at all, either earthly or watery, or ayery and heavenly; but should remain a void place, as it were a *spacious nothing*.

3. I therefore being thus grosse hearted; nor *conspicuous* so much as to my very self; whatsoever was not stretched out over certain spaces, nor diffused abroad, nor amassed up into bulk, nor swelled into breadth, or which did not or could not receive some of these *dimensions*, I thought to be a just *nothing*: For such *formes* as my eyes were wont to range over, even such like Images did my heart now rove after: nor did I yet observe that very *Intention* of mine, by which I formed those Images, was not any such *corporeal substance*, which yet could not have formed them; had not it self been some great thing. In like manner did I conceive thee, O thou Life of my life, to be some huge *corporeal substance*, on every side piercing through the whole Globe of this world; yea, and diffused every way without it, and that by infinite spaces, though unbounded. So that the Earth should have thee, the Heaven should have thee, all things should have thee, and that they should be bounded in thee, but thou no where.

* This Philosophical word, the former Translator turns, The Action of my minde. Short of the sense. Saint Augustine alludes to that in Philosophy. That all natural bodies so made themselves perceived by the sense, do send and beam out from them, some figure, Image, &c. by which the sense may apper-

and them: which figure or shape striking upon the sense, produces it, and so makes it take actual notice of its proper object. And this spiritual figure representing a real object, which these bodies send out; do the Philosophers call their intention. So that Austen's mind fancying the like Images, he calls it the intention of his mind.

4. For as the body of this Ayre which is about the Earth, hindred not the light of the Sun from passing thorow it, which pierceth it, not by bursting or by cutting, but by filling of it: so thought I, was not the body of the Heaven, the Aire and Sea only, but of the Earth too, to be at pleasure passable unto thee, yea easie to be pierced by thee in all its greatest and smallest parts, that all might receive thy presence, which by a secret inspiration, both inwardly and outwardly governeth all things which thou hast created. Thus I suspected; because any other thing I could not think of, and it was this false too. For by this means should a greater part of the Earth have contained a larger portion of thee, and the lesse, a lesser: and then should all things in such sort have beene full of thee, as that the body of an *Elephant* should contain so much more of thee than the body of a *Sparrow*, by how much that should be bigger than this, and take up more roome by it; by which conceipt shouldst thou make thy parts present unto the severall parts of the World, by bits, as it were; great gobbets to great parts, little bits to little parts of the World. But thus thou art not present. But thou hadst not as yet enlightned my darknesse.

CHAR.

CHAP. II.

Nebridius confutes the Manichees.

IT might have been enough for me, Lord, to have opposed against those deceived and deceivers, these dumb praters, (therefore dumb, because they sounded not forth thy Word:) The question might have serv'd the turn, which long ago, whiles we were at Carthage, Nebridius used to propound; at which all we that heard it, were much staggered, namely, *What, that I know not, which nation of darknesse, which the Manichees were wont to set in opposition against thee, would have done unto thee, hadst thou been minded to fight with it?* For, had they answered, *It would have done thee some hurt*, then shouldst thou have been subject to violence and corruption: but if they answered, *It could do thee no hurt*, then would there have been no reason brought for thy fighting with it: especially for such a fighting, in which some certain portion or member of thine, or some off-spring of thy substance should have been mingled with those contrary powers, those natures not created by thee; by whom it should so far have been corrupted and changed to the worse, that it should have been turned from happinesse into misery, and should have stood in need of some assistance, by which it must both be delivered and purged: and that the * Off-spring of thy substance was our soul; which

* *The other Translator renders it thus: And that th's help must be the Soul, which thy Word being free might succour. Succour a help? A meer Null and Non-sense; which utterly loses the force and meaning of the Argument.*

being inthrall'd, thy Word that was free; and being defiled, thy Word that was pure; and being tainted, thy Word that was entire, might every way relieve: yet that *Word* it self also be corruptible, because it was the off-spring of one and the same substance.

2. Again, should they affirm thee, whatsoever thou art, that is, thy substance, to be incorruptible; then were all these fancies of theirs most false and execrable. But if they should affirm thee to be corruptible; even that were most false, and to be abhorred at the first hearing. This Argument therefore of *Nebridius* verily had been enough against those, who deserved wholly to be spued out of my over-charged stomach; for that they had no evasion to betake themselves unto, without most horrible blasphemy both of heart and tongue, thinking and speaking of thee in this fashion.

CHAP. III.

Free-will is the cause of Sinne.

BUT I as yet, although I both said and thought most confidently, that thou our Lord God (who madest not onely our soules, but our bodies; and not onely both soules and bodies, but us all, and all things else beside) wert neither to be corrupted or altered one way or other; yet understood I not hitherto, *what should be the cause of evil.* And yet what ever it were, I perceived I ought in that sense to enquire

inquire after it, that I might not be constrained to believe that the incommutable GOD could be altered by it; lest my self should be made the thing that I desired to seek. After this therefore I inquired with more security, being very certain that the *Manichees Tenet* (whom I dissented from with my whole heart) was no way true: for that I discovered them, whilst they enquired after evil, to be most full of maliciousnesse; they thinking that thy substance did rather suffer ill than their owne commit evil. Whereupon I applyed me industry to understand the truth of what I had heard, how that *Free-will** should be the cause of our ill-doing, And thy just Judgment, that we suffered ill. But I was not able clearly to discern it.

2. Endeavouring therefore to draw the eye of my soule out of that pit, I was again plunged into it; and endeavouring often, I was plunged as often. But this raised me a little up towards the light, that I now knew as well that I had a *Will*, as that I had a *life*: and when therefore I did either *will* or *will* any thing, I was most sure of it, that I did no other thing but *will* and *will*: and there was the Cause of my *sin*, as I perceived presently. But what I did against my *will*, that seemed I to suffer rather, then to do; That judged I not to be my

* Here after my Polish Translator out upon Master Calvins, for teaching Gods Decree and purpose by withholding of his Grace, to be the Cause of Sinne and Damnation. Perily Master Calvins is wronged that way: But this being an Arminian Controversie, I had rather obey His Majesties two Proclamations, and one Declaration, than to be so foote-hardy as to meddle with it. I am neither Calvinist nor Arminian, I am of the Religion of the Primitive Fathers, which the Church of England professes.

fault,

but my punishment; whereby, I holding thee
just, quickly confessed my self not to be unjust-
punished.

But I objected to my self again; Who made
me? Did not my God, who is not only good, but
goodnesse It self? Whence then came it that I can
do *will* and *will* evil things, that there might be
found why I should be justly punished for it?
Was it that set this freedom in me, that ingraft-
ed into my *Stem* this *Cion* of bitterness, seeing
was wholly made up by my most sweet God?
If the Devil were the Author, whence is that same
Devil? And if he himself * by his own perverse
will, of a good Angel became a Devil, whence then
proceeded that perverse *will* in him, whereby he
was made a Devil, seeing that the whole nature of
Angels was made good, by that most good Creator?
And by such thoughts as these I was again cast
down and overwhelmed; yet not so far brought
down was I as the Hell of that Errour, (where no
man shall confesse unto thee) namely, That thou
shouldst be rather thought to suffer ill, than man
to do ill.

Here the Popish Translator commits a most negligent & grosse
mistake, as if the soule of man had of a pure Angel, turn'd to a
Devil. S. Augustine speaks not of the Souls turning Devils,
but of him that was once created a good Angel.

CHAP. IV.

God cannot be compelled.

IN this sort did I endeavour now to find out the
Trest, as I had already found, that what was
incorruptible, must needs be better then that which
was

was corruptible; and I was the more, what if thou wert, did I acknowledge to be incorruptible. For never yet soul was, nor ever shall be able to think upon any thing which may be better than thou; who art the sovereign and the best God. But whereas most truly and certainly, that which is incorruptible, is to be preferred before what is corruptible, (like as I did then preferre it) I might very well have reached so high in my thoughts, as something that should be better than my God, had not thou been incorruptible. Where therefore I saw, that incorruptible ought to be preferred before corruptible; there ought I to have sought out thee, and there to observe *whence evil should come*; that is, *even whence corruption comes*; by which the substance can by no means be infected.

For Corruption does no waies infect God; by no will, by no necessity, by no unlookt for chance: because he is God, and what he will is good, and he himself is that Good; but so to be corrupted, is not good. Nor art thou, O God, against thy will constrained to any thing, for that thy will is not greater than thy power. But greater should it be, were thy self greater than thy self. For the Will and Power of God, is God himself. And what chance can surprize thee unlookt for, who knowest all things? Nor is there any nature of things, but thou knowest it. And what should we use more arguments to prove, *Why that substance which God is, should not be corruptible*, seeing if it were so, it should not be God?

CHAP. V.

He perfect his enquire after the rest of sinne.

AND I sought, Whence Evil should be, and I sought it; not did I see that evil which was in this very enquiry of mine. I see now before the eyes of my spirit the whole Creation, and what ever I could discern of it; as the Sea, the Earth, the Aire, the Stones, the Trees, the mortal Creatures: yea, and what ever else in it we do not see; in the Firmament of the heaven, all the Angels moreover, and all the spiritual inhabitants thereof. But yet as if all these had been *bodies*, did my self dispose of them in such and such places, and made one great Masse of all my Creatures, distinguished by their severall kinds of bodies; both such that were *Bodies* indeed, or which my self had lined in stead of *Spirits*. And this Masse I made none enough, not yet so great as in it self it was, (which I could not come to the knowledge of) but as big as I thought convenient, yet every way finite. But thee, O Lord, I imagined on every part environing and penetrating it, though every way finite: As if there were supposed to be a Sea, which everywhere, and on every side, by a most unmeasurable infinitenesse, should be only infinite; and that Sea should contain in it some bigne-esse, but yet finite; which *Sponge* most needs everywhere and on every side filled with that unmeasurable Sea: So thought I thy whole Creation to be in it self finite, filled by thee who art infinite; and I said, Behold God, and behold what God hath created; and God is good, yea, most infinitely and incomparably better then all these.

which God, being himself good, created all these good; and see how he purges and satisfieth them all.

2. Where is Evil then, and from whence, and how crept it in hither? What is the root, and what the seed of it? Or hath it as all we bring? Why then do we fear and beware of that which hath no being? Or if we fear it in vain, then surely is that fear evil, which in vain so gorges and torments the soul. Yea, and so much a greater evil, by how much that wants of being any thing, which we stand in fear of, and yet do fear. Therefore is there some evil thing which we fear, or else the very act of fearing is evil. Whence is evil therefore? seeing God, who is good, hath created all these things good; that is, the greater and chiefest Good, hath created those lesser goods; yea, and he creating, and they created, are all good. Whence now is evil? Of what did God make it? Was there any matter evil, and so God formed and ordered it, did he leave any thing in it, which he did not convert into good? But why did he so? Was he not able so to turn and change the whole lump, that no evil should have remained in it, seeing he is able to do any thing? Lastly, why would he make any thing at all of it, and did not by the same omnipotency rather order that there should be no such thing at all? Or, to say truth, was it able to be of it self against His will? Or if that evil matter had been so from the beginning, why suffered he it so to continue so infinite spaces of times past, and was pleased so long while after to make something out of it?

3. Or if he were suddenly pleased now to go about some work, this rather should the Omnipotent

have done, have caused (namely) that this evil
never should not be as it have been, and that he
himself should have been alone that sovereign and
infinite God. Or if it had not been so that he
who was good, should frame and create something
else that would not good, then, that evil might be
the first taken away and brought unto nothing,
should he immediately have taken order for some
other matter whereof he might create all things.
So he should not be omnipotent, if he were unable
to create something that were good of it self, un-
less he were assisted by that matter which himself
had not created. These thoughts rolled I up and
down in my miserable heart, overcharged with
many cares, through the fear of death, and
though I had not found out the truth, yet did the
truth of thy Christ our Lord and Saviour, pre-
sented in thy church, firmly continue in my heart,
though in divers particulars (namely) not yet
thoroughly perfected, and swerving from the right
use of reason, yet did not my mind utterly
break off, but every day took in more and more

the Pope's Translator greets the Pope's, papal
writing the first, also. Yet did the belief of the Catholic
Church concerning thy Christ, stick fast in me. As if some
language had held this Pop's implicate faith. To believe as
the Church believes, had been enough. There is much difference
between a blind creature and explicit knowledge of what he be-
lieves in Christ, and a blind implicate belief in the Church be-
lieves, which is known as what the Church believes.

And thus I did, as I did, (that is)

CHAP. VI.

Divinations made by the Mathematicians, are taken

BY this time also had I rejected those de-
villish Divinations, and impious sorceries of
Astrologists. Let thine own mercies, out of the most
inward bowels of my soul, confesse unto thee
this, O my God. For thou, thou althogether, (thou
who alone is it that calls us back from the death of all
errours, but even that *Life* which knows not how to
die; and that wisdom which enlightens those
minds that need it, it self needing no light; by
which the whole world is governed, even to the fall-
ling away of the leaves of trees;) thou tookest
order for that false opinion of mine, by which I was
gled with *Vindicianus** that sharp sighted
man, and with *Nebridius* that admirable spirit;
young man the first vehemently affirming, and
the latter often, (though with some doubtfulness)
saying, That there was no *Art* whereby things to
come, might be foreseen: but that mens conjectures
had oftentimes the help of Fortune; and that by
long many things, something to come was oftentimes
perchance forespoken of the Parties that spoke, but
knowing of it, but stumbling now and then upon the
truth, by their not saying nothing.

Thou therefore providedst a friendly
for me, and be no negligent consulter with
Astrologists yee not thoroughly skilled in those *Arts*,
but (as I said) a curious consulter with them.

* See the third chapter of the fourth Book.

me that knew something, which he had heard of
his Father, as he said; which how farre it might
revaile to overthrow the opinion of that Art, he
knew not. This man therefore *Rivinus*, by name,
having been finely bred, and well taught; asking
my advice as a dear friend of his, concerning di-
vers affairs of his own, which his worldly hopes
were big swolne withall; and wha I conjectured
of him by his *Confessions*, as they call them;
and I, who now began to incline in this particu-
lar towards *Agrippina* opinion, did not, to say
truth, refuse to make conjecture upon it, and to
tell him as much as came in my unresolved mind:
he told him withall, that I was even almost
perswaded in my heart, that these were but vain
and ridiculous follies.

He thereupon up and told me, how his Fa-
ther had been very curious after such Books,
and how he had a friend as earnest as himselfe at
home, who with joynt study and conference were
upon these toyes, by the fire of their hearty
affections, insomuch that they would observe even
the very minutes of the bringing forth of young of
these dumbe creatures which they kept about
their houses, and made observations withall of
the position of the beavers, as those minutes, to the
intent to practice experiments of this Art, as he
said. He said moreover, how he had heard of
his Father, that what time as his mother was big
with him the said *Rivinus*, a certain maid-servant
of that friend of his Fathers, was big with child al-
so, which her master could not be ignorant of, who
took care with most diligent examination to get
knowledge even of the lining of his very Blitches.

And how it so fell out, that when one for his Wife and the other for his servant, with the carefullest observation, reckoned the dayes: yea, the hours, nay, the very least particles of the hours, thus both of them were brought to bed at the same instant, in so much that both of them were constrained to allude the very self-same constellations, even to the very same minutes, he for his sonnes birth, and the other for his little servant. For so soon as the women began to fall in labour, they both gave notice to one another of what was done out in either of their houses, and had messengers ready to send one another, so soon as they had notice of what was borne, which they could easily procure to have instant notice of, as bring in their own kingdoms, and that the messengers sent from one another, did without any delay by the way, in such equal distance from either houses, that neither of the children could obfer to another position of the Sunne, or of the face of minutes, then the other had done: and yet *Firminus* borne to a fair fortune in his parents house, ran his game through the fair wayes of the world, through well in riches, raised himself to honour: whereas that little servant, no able any way to free himself of the yoke of slavery, he was borne unto, continued to serve his Masters as his self sold the story, who well enough knew him.

4. Upon the hearing and believing of these things, for that such a man of credit had told them, all their former resolute reluctancie of mine for quicke rather ground. And first of all I desired to see *Firminus* from that curiosity, by telling him that for me, upon the inspection of his constellations, to foretell what shall truly happen

men, I ought verily first to have seen in them, how
 their parents had been eminent persons among their
 neighbours, and that he had been descended of a
 noble Family in his own City, that he was free-
 born, educated like a Gentleman, and very well
 bred. And if that servant, upon the same con-
 siderations, which were common to him too, had askt
 me to tell him his true Fortune; I ought on
 the other side to have seen in *them*, the baseness of
 his lineage, the slavishness of his condition, and
 these other particulars so much different, and so far
 distant from the other Gentlemen. From whence
 herefore it now came to passe, that looking upon
 the same *constellations*, I should read so diverse for-
 tunes, if I should speak the truth; and if I should
 pronounce the same fortunes, I should lye falsely:
 hence did I also collect most certainly, That what-
 ever upon consideration of these *constellations* was
 foretold truly, was not spoke out of *Art*, but *Nature*:
 and whatever was delivered falsely, was not out of
 the unskillfulness of the *Art*, but out of the uncer-
 tainty of the *chance*.

Being thus entered into the business, & think-
 ing with my self more seriously upon such like ar-
 guments; that no one of those doctors (who lived
 by such shifts, whom I had an itch even out of hand
 to cope withal, and with derision to confute) might
 hereafter confront me so, as if either *Sir* *Micus*
 had informed me falsely, or his Father him: I bent
 my consideration upon those that are born Thier,
 for the most part come out of the womb so near
 one to another, as that small distance of time be-
 tween them (how much force soever in the nature
 of things these fellows avow it to have) yet is it not

possible to make a distinct collection of the difference by any observational man, or to have it at all, character'd out in those figures which the Mathematician is to look into and pronounce the truth by them. Nor shall they ever tell truths for themselves that had lookt upon the *same figures*, must have told the *same Facts* both of *Esaú* and of *Jacob*, whereas the same things no wayes happened to them both. Needs therefore must he have concluded false: or if he had conjectured truly, he must not have said the same things, whereas he lookt upon the same figures. Had he therefore pronounced truly, it should have been by *chance*, and not by *Art*. For thou, O Lord most just, the Ruler of this Universe, even while they that ask thee advice, and those that give it too, know not what they do, workst by so hidden an instinct, as that whenever asked, the Mathematicians advice should never furnish a swerve out of the unsearchable bottom of thy just judgment: in respect of the hidden deserving of the souls, thou thinkest fit for him to hear. To whom, let no man say, *what is that thou knowst in that?* Let him not say so, never let him ask such a question, seeing he is but a man.

CHAP. VII.

He is miserably distressed in his enquiry after the Root of Evil.

1. **A**ND now, O my helper, hadst thou discharged me from those letters: and presently enquired *whence Evil should be*, but found no way out of my question. But thou sufferdest me not to be carried away from the Faith by any waves of those thoughts, by which Faith I believed, that

that thou wert; and that thy substance was un-
changeable, and that thou hadst a care of, and wast
all thy judgement upon men; and that to covet
the Saint, our Lord, and the holy Scriptures, which
the authority of thy Church should receive, and
thou hast laid out the way of mans salvation, and
life to that life which is to come after death. These
things remaining safe and immovably fasted
in my mind; I with much anxiety sought, and
thought out the nature of Soul should proceed. What
arguments did my trembling heart then endure; and
what throws, O my God! yet even to them were
thine ears open; and I knew it not, and when I
hence I so vehemently enquired after it, and those
last contritions of my soul were strong cries unto
thy mercy. *am iqua hoc et dicitur 1300 vii sham*
Thou; and not man; knowest how much I
suffered. For, how great was that which my agony
sent forth into the ears of my most familiar friend.
And yet did I disclose the whole tumult of my soul;
for which neither my time nor tongue had been
sufficient. Yet did all of it ascend into thy hear-
ing; which it roared out from the pines of my
heart; yet, my whole desires were laid up before
thee; nor was a matter of so much as of the light of
mine own eyes; for that was almost a law of love
inward; nor was it confined to any place, but
I bent my self to those things that are contained in

* Scripturis, quæ Ecclesiæ communiter sunt. Where
Ecclesiæ may be the Divine Call: And then may it go thus:
Which is known by authority, and confirmed by the Holy Spirit:
in those he said, lib 6. cap 5. See the place. And the People
therefore would gladly give, who are to the Church, and much
in what is figure. For that controversy, see our Place.
1300 1300 1300 1300 1300 1300 1300 1300 1300 1300

but then found I no place to rest in, nor did they
 place so comfort in me, that I could say, *It is enough*
 and so rest; nor did they yet suffer me to rest
 long, when I might find rest being enough. For as
 this place was a superiority, so was I over to them;
 and then art thou more joy where thy subject; and
 thou shalt be subject under me; these things which
 thou createdst to know mine, did gain some comfort
 in me. And that was the same master, and the middle
 Region of my safety, where I might remain com-
 fortable to chime images, and by serving thee, get
 the dominion over mine own body. But when as I
 revolted actually against thee, and when I rose up
 as I did with my steel, with the thick battlements
 against thee, then were these inferior things
 made my over-matches, and kept me under my
 match; not giving thee releasement or space of breath-
 ing. They ran on all sides by heaps and troops up-
 on me, broad-looking on them; but having in my
 thoughts their corporeal images, they way-laid
 me as I turn'd back, as if they should say unto me,
 Whither goest thou? O thou unworthy and base
 creature! And these grew more in number even
 as I grew wroth; for thou hast humbled the proud
 that as thou art wounded, and through my con-
 fessing was I far further off from thee; yea, my
 choler making me blind, even blinded up mine eyes.

CHAP. VII.

How the mercy of God at length relieved him.

THOU, Lord, art the same for ever: nor art
 thou angry with us for ever; because thou

thy pity upon dust and ashes, and it was pleasing
in thy sight to reform my deformities: and by in-
ward gallings didst thou chastise me; that I should
become unquiet; till such time as it might be af-
fired unto my inward sight; that it was thou thy
self. Then, by the secret hand of thy medicin-
ing, was my swelling abated; and that troubled and
besetted eyefight of my soule, by the smart eye-
sore of mine own wholsome dolours, daily began
more and more to be cleared.

CHAP. IX.

*What be found in some Books of the Platonists, agree-
able to the Christian Doctrine.*

AND thou being desirous first of all to shew
unto me, how thou *resistest the proud*, *thou*
givest grace unto the humble, Jam. 4. 6. and with
what great mercy of thine the way of humility is
traced out unto men, in that thy Word was made
flesh, and dwelt among men: thou procurest for
me, by means of a certain man, puffed up with a most
unreasonable pride, to see certain Books of the
Platonists, translated out of Greek into Latin.

This was likely to be the Book of Amelius the Platonist, who
had read the beginning of St. Iohns Gospel, calling the
people a Barbaria. E. sch. 1. Præparat. Evang. lib. 10. cap. 10.
Clement Alexandrinus said, that Plato was Ex. Hebrew Phi-
losophus. For he learned many things in Egypt of the Jews,
and he said Aristotle had from the Septuaginta Translatione
Nicomachis in Nazianzen. Orat. 24. tells that Plato first of all
the Gentiles came to Christ preaching in Hell, believed, and was
converted.

And

And therein I read, not indeed in the self-same words, but to the very same purpose, persuaded by many reasons, and of severall kinds, That in the beginning was the word, and the word was with God, and that word was God. The same was in the beginning with God. All things were made by him, and without him was nothing made that was made. In him was life, and the life was the light of men. And the light shined in the darkness, and the darkness comprehended it not. Joh. 1, 1, 2, 3, 4. And for that the soul of man, though it gives testimony of the light, yet it self is not that light, but the Word of God is: for God is that true light that lighteth every man into the world, ver. 9. And, because he was in the world, and the world was made by him, and the world knew him not, v. 10. And because he came unto his own, and his own received him not, v. 11. But as many as received him, to them gave he power to become the sonnes of God, as many as believed in his name, ver. 12. All this did I read there.

2. There again did I read, that God the Word was not born of flesh nor of blood, nor of the will of God, v. 13. But that the Word was made flesh, and dwelt among us, did I not there read. I found out in those Books, that it was many and divers wayes said, that the Son being in the form of the Father, thought it no robbery to be equal with God, Phil. 2. For that naturally he was the same with him. But that he made himself of no reputation, taking upon him the form of a servant, and was made in the likeness of men, and was found in fashion as a man, and humbled himself, and became obedient unto death, even the death of the Crosse. Wherefore God hath highly exalted him, from

from the dead, and given him a name ^{above} every name, that at the name of Jesus every knee should bow, of things in heaven, and things in earth, and things under the earth. And that every tongue should confess that Jesus Christ is Lord, to the glory of God the Father. Phil. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. And these Books have not.

3. But that thy only begotten Sonne, co-eternall with thee, was before all times, and beyond all times remains unchangeable, and that of his fulnesse all soules receive what makes them blessed; and that by participation of that wisdom which remains in them, they are renewed, that they may be made wise, is there. But that he in due time dyed for the wicked; and that thou heredst not shine onely Sonne, but deliveredst him for us all, Rom. 8. 32. is not there. For thou hast hid these things from the wise, and hast revealed them unto babes; that they that labour and are heavy laden, might come unto thee, and thou mightest refresh them, Mat. 11. 28. Because he is meek and lowly in heart; and the meek he directeth in judgement, and such as he mild he teaches his wayes, beholding our humility and labour, and forgiving us all our sinnes. But such as are puffed up with the high strain of a sublimer learning, hear not him saying unto them, Learn of me, for I am meek and lowly in heart, and you shall find rest to your soules, Mat. 11. 29. And, if they know God, yet they glorify him not as God, nor give thanks unto him, but are vain in their imaginations; and their foolish heart is darkned; and professing that they were wise, they became fools, Rom. 1. 21, 22.

4. And

4. And there also did I read, that they had changed the glory of thy incorruptible nature into idols and divers shapes, into the likenes of the image of corruptible man, & birds, & beasts, & serpents; yea verily into that Egyptian food, for which Esau lost his birth-right, Gen. 25: for that that people, which was thy first-borne, worshipped the head of a four-footed Beast in stead of thee; turning in their hearts back towards Egypt; and bowing thy image (their own soul) before the image of a calf: *that eateth hay*. Psal. 106: 20. These things found I there, but I fed not on them. For it pleased thee, O Lord, to take away the reproach of diminution from Jacob, that the elder brother should serve the younger: and thou hast called the Gentiles into thine inheritance.

5. And I my self came unto thee from among the Gentiles; and I set my mind earnestly upon that gold which thou willedst thy people to take from the Egyptians, Exo. 3: 22. seeing thine it was, where-soever it were. And to the Athenians thou saidst by thy Apostle; *That in thee we live, move, and have our being, as one of their own Poets had said*. Act. 17: 28. And verily these Books come from thence. But I set not my minde towards the idols of Egypt, which they made of thy gold; even they who changed the truth of God into a lye, and worshipped and served the creature more than the Creator, Rom. 1: 25.

CHAP. X.

Divine things are more cleerly discovered unto him.

1. **A**Nd being upon this admonished to return to my self, I entred even into mine own inward

ward

needs; thou being my Leader: and able I was to do it, for thou wast now become my helper. I need my self I went, and with the eye of my soul (such as it was) I discovered over the same eye of my soul, over my mind, the unchangeable light of thy face. Not this vulgar light, which all beasts may look upon; nor yet another greater of the same kind; as if this should touch and reach more closely, and with its greatness take up all the room. This light was none of these, but another, yet clean another from all these. Nor was it in that manner above my soul, as oyle is upon water, nor yet as the heaven is above the earth: but superiour to my soul, because it made me; and I was inferiour to it, because I was made by it. He that knowes what Touch is, knowes what that light is; and he that knowes it, knowes eternity. Charity knowes

O eternall Truth! and true Charity! and true Eternity! Thou art my God, to thee do I look night and day. There when I first saw, thou liftedst me up, that I might see there was something which I might see; and that yet it was not I that did see. And thou diddest beat back the infirmity of my own sight, darting thy beams of light upon me most strongly, and I trembled both with love and horreur: and I perceived my self to be far off from thee, in the Region of utter Unlikensse, as if I heard this voice of thine from on high: *I am the food of strong men, grow apace, and thou shalt feed upon me; nor shalt thou converse me like common food into thy substance, but thou shalt be changed into me.* And I learned these upon, That thou wilt rebuke half a world of me for iniquity, thou madest my soul

is constant every where at once. And I said, Is Truth
therefore nothing at all, being it is neither dis-
fused by infinite spaces of places, nor by finite?
But thou cryedst to me from a far off, Yea verily,
I AM that I AM. 220, 3. This voice I heard, (as
things are heard in the heart); nor was there any
suspicion at all, why I should doubt of it? yea,
I should sooner doubt that I did not live; than that
it was not the Truth; which is clearly to be seen
in those things which are made, Rom. 1:20. & 229, 1. 229, 1.

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CHAP. XII.

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which, were they sovereignly good, could never be corrupted: because if sovereignly good they are, they must needs be incorruptible, and if they hold no goodnesse in them at all, neither could they have any thing in them to be corrupted. For corruption hurts every thing, but it cannot diminish their goodnesse, and could not hurt. And therefore corruption does at all no hurt, which cannot be: or which is most certain, all which is corrupted is deprived of its goodnesse. If they then shall be deprived of all their goodnesse, they shall have at all no being. For if they shall still be, they shall not be at all corrupted, they shall thereby become better, because they remain ever incorruptibly.

What more absurd now, then to affirme those things that have lost all their goodnesse, to be made better by it? The reason, when ever they shall be deprived of all their goodnesse, they shall also lose all being: so long therefore as they are, they are good: therefore whatsoever are, are good. That could I have sought, whence it should be, is not a substance: for were it a substance, it should be good. For either it should be an incorruptible substance, that is to say, of the chief sorts of good: or it should be some corruptible substance; which unless it were some way or other good, it could not be corrupted. I perceived therefore, and it was made plain unto me, that all things are good, which thou hast made: nor is there any substance at all which thou hast not made: & for that all which thou hast made are not equal, therefore are they all good in generall, because all good in particular, and altogether very good, because thou our God hast made all things very good. Gen. 1. 31.

Chap.

CHAP. XIII.

All created things praise God.

ANd to thee is there nothing at all evil: yea, not only in respect of thee, but also not in respect of thy Creatures in generall; because there is not any thing which is without thee, which hath power to break in; or discompose the Order which thou hast sealed. But in some particulars of thy Creatures, for that some things there be, which so well agree not with some other things, they are conceived to be evil: whereas those very things, sure well enough with some other things, and are good; yea, and in themselves good. And all these things which do not mutually agree one with another, do yet sure well enough with this inferior party, which we call Earth; which hath such a cloudy and windy Region of Aire hanging over it, as is in nature agreeable to it.

God forbid now, that I should ever say, that there were no other things extant besides these; for should I see nothing but these, verily I should want the better. And yet even now for these ought I praise thee; for that thou art to be praised, these things of the earth do shew. Dragons, and all Beasts, Fire, Hail, Snow, Ice, and stormy Winds; which fulfil thy word, Mountains, and all Hills, fruitful Trees, and all Cedars, Beasts, and all Cattell, creeping things, and flying Fowls; Kings of the Earth, and all people, Princes, and all Judges of the Land; Young men and Maidens, Old men and Children, let them praise thy Name. Ps. 148. Seeing also these in heaven praise thee, let them praise thee, O our God, in the height. Let all thy Angels praise thee, & all thy Hosts, & all

son, all the stars and Light, the Heaven of Heavens, and the waters that be above the Heavens, let them praise thy Name. I did not now desire better, because I had now thought upon them all: and that those superior things were better then these inferior things, but yet altogether better than those superior by themselves, I resolved upon in my bettered judgment.

CHAP. XIV.

A sober mind, none of Gods creatures are displeasing.

They are not well in their wits, to whom any thing which thou hast created is displeasing: more than I my self was, when as many things which thou hast made, did not like me. And because my soul durst not take distaste at my God, it would not suffer that ought should be accounted vile, which displeased it. Hence fell it upon the notion of two substances, and no rest did it take, till I talkt idly. And turning from thence, it fancied a God to is self, which took up infinite measures of all places; and him did it think to be thee, and so it placed in its heart: so that it became once again the Temple of its own Idol, which was so much abominable. But after thou hadst refreshed my head, (I) not knowing of it) and hadst shut my mind eyes that they should no more behold vanity, I began to be quieted a little within my self; and my mad Fir was got asleep: out of which I awoke in thee, and then discerned thee to be infinite another manner of way. But this sight was not derived from any power of my flesh.

CHAP.

CHAP. XV.

How there is truth and falsehood in the Creatures.

1. **A**ND I looked after this upon other things, and I saw how they owed their being to thee, and that all false things are in thee, but in a different manner; not as in their proper place; because thou containest all things in thine heart of truth. All things are true so far forth as they have a being; nor is there any falsehood, unless when a thing is thought to be, which is not. And I marvelled how that all things did agree respectively, not to their places onely, but to their seasons also: And that thou, who onely art eternall, didst not begin to work after innumerable spaces of times spent; for that all spaces of times, both those which are past already, and those which are to passe hereafter, should neither go nor come, but by thee, who art still working, and still remaining.

CHAP. XVI.

All things are good, though to some things not fit.

1. **A**ND I both found and tryed it to be no wonder, that the same bread is loathsome to a distempered palate, which is pleasant to a sound one; and that to sore eyes that light is offensive, which to the cleare is delightfull: and that the justice gives disgust unto the wicked: yet how much but the Viper and smallest vermine, which thou hast created good, but are fit enough to the inferior portions of thy Creatures, to which the very wicked are also fit; and that so much the more

by how much they be unlike thee; but so much as the superiour Creatures, by how neerer resembling thee. And I enquired what this same Iniquity should be: But I found it not to be a substance, but a swerving meerly of the will, cracks quite away from thee, O God, (who art the supreme substance) towards these lower things; which casts abroad its inward corruption, and swells outwardly.

CHAP. XVII.

What things hinder us of Gods knowledge.

AND I wondred not a little, that I was now come to love thee, and no phantasme in stead of thee: nor did I delay to enjoy my God, but was ravish't to thee by thine own beauty; and yet by and by I violently fell off again, even by mine own weight; rushing with sorrow enough upon these inferiour things. This weight I spake of, was my old fleshly customes. Yet had I still a remembrance of thee; nor did I any way doubt, that thou wert he to whom I ought to cleave; but yet I was not the party fit to cleave unto thee: for that the body which is corrupted, presseth down the soul; and the earthly tabernacle weigheth down the minde that museth upon many things. And most certain it was, that thy invisible works from the creation of the world are cleerly seen, being understood by the things that are made, even thy eternall power and Godhead. Rom. 1. 20.

2. For

1. For studying now, by what reason I could
 good the beauty of corporeal things, either in
 or myself: and what proof I had at hand,
 fully to pass sentence upon these mutable things
 in pronouncing, *They ought to be thus*, and *thus*
be so: placing (I say) on this, upon what ground
 namely I ought to judge, seeing I did that just
 I had by this time found the unchangeable and
 eternity of truth, residing upon this changing
 mind of mine. And thus by degrees, passing from
 body to the soul, which makes use of the senses
 the body to perceive by I and from thence to
 inner faculties, unto which the senses of the body
 are to represent their outward objects; and so for-
 ward, as far as the irrational creatures are able to
 go; Thence again passed I on to the Reasoning fa-
 culty, unto which whatever is received from the
 senses of the body, is referred to be judged.

2. This also finding it self to be variable in me,
 betook it self towards its own understanding, draw-
 ing away my thoughts from my old fleshly custom,
 and withdrawing it self from those confused multi-
 tudes of phantasies, which contradict one another.

* The English Translater notes in his Margent, An high dis-
 course, and so it is indeed, too high for his reach, for he
 understands it not. Is a poor piece of Philosophy so high as
 this? He would faine have that thought to be mystic, which
 he makes non sense.

† See the beginning of Chap. 10.

* The five outward senses represent the species or images
 which they have received, unto the three inward senses. The
 Common sense, Fancy, and Memory. Some deny memory was
 lost: but the other two they have: and these two is the
 chief power of their soul, by which they judge of whatever re-
 ceives them. Beyond fancy they cannot go.

so it might find out that light, which it now
 saw glimpe of presently upon the falling where-
 without all further doubting, it cried out, *That*
was unchangeable; was to be preferred before
that was changeable; by which it had come to have
that unchangeable. Which, unless by some means or
 that it had known, it could never have had sure-
 ground for the referring of it before the change-
 able, nor have come so high as that which is let
 within ken of the twinkling eye-sight. And now
 came I to have a sight of those invisible things of
 that, which are understood by those things which are
 seen, Rom. 1. 20. But I was not able to fix mine
 eye long upon them: but my infirmity being beat-
 en back again, I was turned to my wonted fancies;
 carrying along with me no more but a liking of
 those new thoughts in my memory, and an appetite
 for were to the meat I had smelt, which as yet
 I was not able to eat of.

CHAP. XVIII.

Only Christ is the way to Salvation.

Then set I my self to seek a means of reco-
 vering so much strength, as should be suffi-
 cient to enjoy thee: but I could not find it, until
 I embraced that Mediator betwixt God and man,
 the Man Jesus Christ, who is over all, God blessed
 for evermore, 1 Tim. 2. 5. Rom. 9. 5. then calling
 welcome, and saying, *I am the way, the truth, and*
the life, Joh. 14. 6. who mingled that food which I
 was unable to take (his own flesh) unto our flesh.
For the Word was made flesh, Joh. 1. 14. that by thy
 wisdom, by which thou createdst all things, be
 might

might suckle in infancy. For I, not yet husband enough, did not apprehend my Lord *Jesus Christ* who had made himself humble; nor did I know what lesson that infirmity of his would teach us. For thy *Word*, the eternal truth, being so high exalted above the highest of thy Creatures, reaching up those that were cast down, unto it self; having here below built for it self a lowly cottage of clay, by which he intended to abase from the height of their own imaginations; those that were so cast down, a Cord to us, that so he might bring them about unto himself; allaying the swelling of their pride, and cherishing of their love; To the end that we might go on no further in the confidence of ourselves, but might find their own weakness rather; seeing the Divinity it self condescended to our feet, by taking our fleshy garment upon him; that so being weary at length, they might cast down their selves upon it, and that rising, might raise up them together with it.

CHAP. XIX.

What he thought of Christs incarnation.

BUT I had before far other thoughts: conceiving onely of my Lord *Christ*, as of a man of excellent wisdom, whom no man could be equall unto; and in this regard especially, for that being so wonderfully borne of a *Virgin*, (giving us an example how to contemn worldly things for the obtaining of immortality;) that divine care his seemed to have deserved so much authority, to be the Master over us. But what Myserie this might carry with it, *The Word was made flesh*, could

could not so much as imagine. Thus much I collected out of what is * come to us being written of of him, how that he did eat, and drink, and sleep, and walk, and rejoyced in spirit, and was heavy, and stretched: that, *flesh* alone did not cleave unto thy Word, but our *humane soule* and *minde* also with it. Every body knowes thus much, that knoweth the unchangeablenesse of thy *words*: which I my self now know, (as well as I could) nor did I at all make any doubt of it. For, for him to move the partes of his body by his will, and other-whiles not to move them; now to be stirred by some affection, and at another time not to be affected; now to deliver wise sentences, and another while to keep silence: all these be properties of a soule and mind that are mutable. And should these things be falsely ascribed of him, all the rest verily would be in suspicion of being a lye, nor should there be left at all in those Books any safenesse of Faith for mankind.

2. Because therefore none but Truths are there written, I even then acknowledged a perfect man to be in Christ. Not the body of a man onely, a *sensitive soule* without a *rationall*, but a *very man*; whom, not onely for his being a *person* * of Truth

Script. tradiderunt Here the Popish Translator, (as every where he does) takes occasion to diminish the authority of the Scripture; saying, that it came to us by tradition. It did for the most part: we have history also for every book of it. And it self brings light with it to shew it self by: as by the sight of the Sun we see and know the Sun. Have Popish Tradition either of these two proofs?

* That is he false from the Manichees, who held Christ not to be a true, but a fantastical body or person onely: and so being a being of spirit of nature, but no truth of humane nature.

but for a certain extraordinary excellency of humane nature that was in him, I judge worthy to be preferred before all other men. For *Attilius*, he imagined the *Catholikes* to have believed, God to be so clothed with *flesh*, that besides God and *flesh*, there was no soule at all in *Christ*, and that they had preached there was no soule of man in him. And because he was verily perswaded, that those Actions which were recorded of him, could not be performed but by a vital and a rational Creature, he was the slower therefore in moving towards the *Christian* Faith. But understanding afterwards, that this was the errour of the *Apollinarian* Heretikes, he was better pleased with the *Catholike* faith, and better complied with it. But something later it was, I confesse, ere I learned, how in this sentence, *The word was made flesh*, the *Catholike* Truth could be cleared of the heresie of *Photinus*. For, the confuting of the Hereticks, makes the opinion of thy Church more eminent, and the Tenet which the sound doctrine maintaineth. For there must be also Heresies, that they which are approved, may be made manifest among the weak, 1 Cor. 11. 19.

CHAP. XX.

Of divers Books of the Platonists.

1. **B**UT having read as then these Books of the *Platonists*, having once gotten the hint from them, and falling upon the search of incorporeal truth; I came to get a sight of these invisible things of thine, which are understood by those things which are made, Rom. 1. 20. and being put back again,

perceived how that the darknesse of mine own mind
was it which so hindred my contemplation; at that
I was not suffered to be certain, *That they were*
both infinite, and yet not diffused over finite and in-
finite places: and that thou art truly the same that
thou art ever; nor in any part, nor by any motion,
otherwise at one time than at another: and that
all other things are from thee, taught so by this one
most firm demonstration, *that they are.* Of these
things I was certain enough, yet too too weak to
comprehend thee. I prayed altogether like a skill-
full Fellow; but had I not sought thy way in Christ
our Saviour, I had not proved ^a skillfull man,
but a lost man. For now (forsooth) I began to be
desirous to seem wise; full of mine own punishment,
yet could not weep for it; but became more and
more puffed up with my knowledge.

2. For where was that *charity* that should build
me up from that foundation of *humility*; which is
in Christ Jesus? or when would these books have
taught me that? Yet upon these, I believe, it was
my pleasure that I should first fall; before I took
my Scriptures into my consideration; that I might
print in memory, how far those Books wrought
upon my affections: and that when afterwards I
should come to be made tractable by thy Books,
(thine own fingers undertaking the cure of me, and
my wounds dressed) I might discern at last and di-
stinguish, how main a difference there was betwixt

*The other Translator hath made most strange sense in these two
written former Chapters: and here twice together he hath read
patience (as I guess) instead of periculis. So many of these neglig-
gences hath he committed, in mistaking one word for another,
that I hardly believe he did it by Oult-light.*

Presumption and Confession; betwixt those that knew whither they went to go, but knew nothing of the way; and that path which leads unto that blessed Countrey, not to be sought upon onely, but dwelt in. For had I first been brought up in the holy Scriptures, and in the familiar use of them, thy self had grown sweet unto me; and false upon these *Philosophical* volumes afterwards, they might either have withdrawn me from the solid ground of piety, or if I had stood firm in that wholesome disposition which I had there tasted, I might perchance have thought, that a man, even out of these *Philosophy* books, might have gotten the same, had he studied them onely.

CHAP. XXI.

What be found in the holy Scriptures, which was not in the Platonists.

MORE greedily therefore laid I hold upon that venerable stile of thy Spirit: and upon the Apostle Paul above all the rest. Whereupon those difficulties quite vanished away, in which he sometimes seemed unto me to contradict himself, and wherein the Text of his discourse seemed not to agree with the testimonies of the *Law* and the *Prophets*. And there appeared unto me that one face of that *chose Eloquence*; and I learned to rejoyce with trembling. I set upon it, and found whatsoever I there read, to be true. These things to the praise of thy Grace, I there learned, that which he sees, not so glory, as if he had not received. *1 Cor. 13. 7* not that onely which he does see, but also that which he may see: For what hath he, which

hath not received? Yea, both that he may be made not onely to see thee, who art now the Law, but that he may be made strong, to hold thee; and that he who from afar off is not able to see his way, may yet walk on, to the end he may at last arrive, and see, and comprehend. For, though a man be delighted with the law of God after the inner man, Rom. 7. 22. yet how shall he do with that other Law in his Members, which warres against the Law of his mind, and bringeth him into captivity to the Law of sin which is in his members? 2 v. 23. For, thou art righteous, O Lord, but we have sinned and committed iniquity, Dan. 9. 5. 7. & thy hand is grown heavy upon us, and we are justly delivered over unto that old Sinner, the President of death; for he hath wrought our will to become like his will; whereby he departed from thy Truth.

Q. What shall wretched man do? who shall deliver him from the body of this death? Rom. 7. 24. but only thy Grace, through Jesus Christ our Lord, whom thou hast begotten coeternal to thy self, and possessed in the beginning of thy wayes, Psa. 110. 1. in whom the grace of this world found nothing worthy of death; Joh. 14. 30. yet kill'd he him; whereby the handwriting was blotted out, which was contrary to us, Col. 2. 14. None of all this do these Platonike writers contain. Those leaves can shew nothing of this face of piety, those teares of confession, that sacrifice of thine, a troubled spirit, a broken and a contrite heart, Ps. 51. the salvation of thy people, the Spouse, the Church, the earnest of the Holy Ghost, the Cup of our Redemption. No man sings there, Shall not my soule wait upon God, seeing from him cometh my salvation? For he is my God and my salvation, my defence; I shall not be greatly moved. Ps. 62. 1. K 3 3. No

4. No man in these Books hears him calling,
 Come unto me, all ye that labour. Mat. 11. 28. yet
 they labour to know of him, because he is meek and
 lowly in heart; y. 29. For these things hast thou hid
 from the wise and prudent, and hast revealed them
 unto babes. For it is one thing, from the wild top
 of a Mountain to see the Land of Peace, and not
 to find the way thither; and in vain to travel
 through wayes unpassable; round about beset
 with these fugitive Spirits, forsakers of their God,
 living in amity with their Ring-leader of theirs;
 the Lion and the Dragon; and another thing to
 keep on the way that leads thither, which is guarded
 by the care of our heavenly Generall: where they
 exercise no robberies, that forsook the heavenly
 Army: which they abhorre as much as their very
 torment. These things did by wonderfull means
 sink into my very bowels, when as I read the
 Epistle of his apostle, 1 Cor. 13. 9. and had consider-
 ed upon his works, and trembled.

5. He saith in Deut. 32. 49.

SANT

SAINT
AUGUSTINES

Confessions.

The Eighth Book.

CHAP. I.

*Now being inflamed with the love of heavenly things,
he goeth to Simplicianus.*

GIVE me leave, O my God, with
Thanksgiving, to remember, and
confesse unto thee thine own mer-
cies bestowed upon me. Let my
bones be filled with thy love, and
let them say unto thee, *who is like
unto thee, O Lord? thou hast broken my bands in sun-
der, I will offer unto thee the sacrifice of thanksgiving.*
Psalms 116, 17. And how thou hast bro-
ken them, will I now declare; and all men who
worship thee, when they hear of it, shall say, Blessed
be the Lord, both in Heaven and in Earth, great
and wonderfull is his Name. Thy words had stuck
even to the very roots of my heart, and I was bedg-
ed round about by thee, Job 1. 10. Of the eterni-
ty of thy life I was now become certain, though I had

no more than *seen it in a glasse, as it were, darkly*. 1 Cor. 13. 12. All my former doubtings, concerning an *incorruptible substance*, from which all other substances should derive its being, was now quite taken away from me; nor did I desire as now to be made more certain of thee; but better assured in thee. As for mine own temporall life, all things were yet unresolved; my heart was to be purged from the old leaven, 1 Cor. 5. 7. The way (our Saviour himself. Joh. 14. 6.) I very well liked of: but it irked me to follow him through those streights which he had passed.

2. Thou didst put into my mind, and it seemed good in mine own eyes, to go unto *Simplicianus*, who seemed to me a faithful servant of thine, and that thy grace shined in him: of whom I had further heard, that from his very youth he had lived most devoutly towards thee. He was now grown into yeers; and by reason of so great an age, seemed in so good a purpose as following of thy wayes, he seemed to me to have gained experience of many things; and verily so he had. Out of which still of his, I desired him afford me some directions, (making him acquainted with my heats) which should be the readiest way for a man in my case, to walk in thy pathes. For, the Church I saw to be full; and one went this way; and another that way. But very unpleasant to me it was, that I led the life of a wotling: yea, a very grievous burthen it was, (those desires after the hopes of honour and profit inflaming me now no longer as they were wont to doe) to undergo so heavy a bondage. For, in respect of thy *sweetnesse*, and the beauty of thy house which I loved, those thoughts delighted me no longer.

anger. But very strongly yet was I enthralled
in the love of women: nor had mine Angell
advised me to marry, although he advised me to
be better, earnestly wishing that all men were as him-
self then was. 1 Cor 7. 8.

3. But I being weak, made choice of the softer
pace: and because of this alone, was languishing I
tumbled up and down in the rest, yea I pined a-
way with withering cares, because in other mar-
ners which I was willing to undergo, I was con-
strained to accommodate my self to a married life,
unto which I voluntarily stood enthralled. I had
understood from the mouth of Truth it self, That
there were some Eunuchs, which have made them-
selves Eunuchs for the Kingdome of Heavens sake:
but let him receive this saying that is able. Mark
9. 12. All those men verily are vain, in whom
the knowledge of God is not; and who could not
see of these things which seem good, find out
that is good indeed. But I continued no
longer in that vanity, I was now gotten beyond
it, and by the testimony of all thy Creatures,
had I found thee our Creator, and thy Word
God together with thee, and the Holy Ghost
our God also with thee, by whom thou createdst
all things.

4. There is yet another kinde of wicked men,
who knowing God, did not glorifie him as God, nei-
ther were thankfull, Rom. 1. 21. Upon these al-
so was I fallen, but thy right hand sustained
me, and delivering me out of their company,
placedst mee where I might grow better.
For thou hast said unto man, Behold, the feare
of the LORD is wisdom, Job 28. 28.

But I was always well contented in that state of things. I thought they who suffered themselves to be so much abused by the world, were fools. But I had not found this fault of mind, until I came to the bridge, though I felt all that I had, viz. that I was yet in a quandary what to do.

CHAP. II.

How Vedic Indians, the famous Order, was converted

2. **U**Nder Satisfaction therefore I went, to my Father, at that time of Bishop Ambrose in his reviving of my grace; whom verily he loved as his own Father. To him I discovered the winding snarles of my error. But when I told him that I had read over certain Books of the *Platonists* which *Plotinus*, sometimes *Rebeticus* Professor at Rome, (who dyed a Christian, as I had heard) had translated into *Latine*, he much joyced over me, for that I had not fallen upon any other *hatefull* writings, which use to be full of *fallacies* & *vain deceipts*, after the rudiments of this world, Col. 2. 8. when as in the *Platonists*, God and his Word was many wayes imitated. And the better to enforce me in this duty, (bidden from the wise, and reveal-

The former Translators say, that he was either his Godfather, or his Godson's Father. Boldman; Baronius to S. Ambrose's Ep. could have taught him, that the Simplicitas, being a well known Christian name, was first by Damasus Bishop of Rome, and within many years, to be the Adverser and Director of some Antipapal Churches & many Bishops; therefore did some Antipapal Bishop use his Father. To this Simplicitas is Ambrose's second Epistle 28.4. directed. He also succeeds a Ambrose in his Epistles.

of *Valerianus*, (Mat. 11. 1.) he fell upon the men-
tion of *Valerianus*, whom whilest he was at Rome he
had familiarly known: and of him he told this story,
which will not here conceal, seeing it affords matter
of much praise of thy grace, which ought to be con-
fessed unto thee.

He told me, how this most learned old
man, most skilfull in all the *liberall Sciences*; one,
who had read, and censured, and explained so many
of the *Philosophers*; one, that had been Master to so
many noble *Senators*, who also as an Ensigne of his
famous Masterhip, had (which worldlings e-
stimated such an honour) both deserved and obtained
a *Statue* in the *Roman Forum*: he remaining
even till his old age a worshipper of Idols, and a
co-partner of such sacrilegious solemnities, (with
which almost all the Nobility and people of Rome
were inspired) and of that monstrous rabble of the
gally-maufray of Gods, and of *Anubis* the barker,
which had sometimes maintained the *Priesters* a-
gainst *Jupiter*, *Venus*, and *Minerva*, whom Rome
having once conquered, now worshipped: all which
this old *Valerianus* with his thundering Eloquence
had so many years been the Champion of, but now
learned not to become the *childe* of thy *Christ*, and
an Infant at thy *Font*; submitting his neck to the
Yoke of humility, and subduing his forehead to the
shining of the *Crosse*.

Roman Senators, Common-wealths men, and Schollers,
were the embracement of others; that idolatry at Rome
of *Neptune*, *Venus*, and *Minerva*, were three of the *Principal*
Gods of Rome, as *Anubis* (worshipt in shape of a Dog) was of
Egypt: and the Romans having conquered many *Provinces*,
brought home their Gods, and worshipt them: So that Rome
at last came to have 3000 Gods.

3. O Lord, O Lord, which hast bowed the heavens
and came down, touched the mountains, and thy
floods, Psal. 93, by what means didst thou convey
me into that mans breast? He read (as Simplicianus
said) the holy Scriptures, most studiously sought after
and launch into all the Writings of the Christians,
and said unto Simplicianus, (not openly, but after
a private and familiar manner) *You shall now un-
derstand that I am a Christian.* Simplicianus answer-
ed him, I will never believe it, nor will I rank you
among the Christians, unless I see you in the
Church of Christ. Wherunto he smiling upon
him, replied, *It is the walls that makes Christian.*
And that he often reiterated, that he was now
Christian: and Simplicianus making the same an-
swer, the conceit of the walls was as often re-
turned. For he feared to offend his friends, which
were proud Devil-worshippers, from the height of
whose Babylonian dignity, as from the top of the
Cedars of Libanus, which the Lord had now he
brought down, he supposed a storme of ill-will
would shoure upon him.

4. But when once by reading and earnestness
he had gathered strength, and that he feared to be
deceyed by Christ before his Angels, should he now be
afraid to confesse him before men, Luk. 9. 26. and
that he appeared guilty to himselfe of a mighty
crime, in being ashamed of the Sacraments of the
humility of thy Word: whereas he had not been
ashamed of the sacrilegious sacrifice of those
proud devils (of whose pride himselfe had been
a mirror) he put on a confident face against vanity,
and was ashamed not to confesse the truth: yet
all on the sudden, when Simplicianus thought
nothing

king of it, he sayes now hee (as himselfe told me) came first unto the Church, & desired to be made a Christian. But he, was able to convince himselfe (for he was along with him, whom, as soon as he was instructed in the first mysteries of Religion, he was long after gave in his name, that he might be regenerated by Baptism: the City of Rome rejoicing, and the Church rejoycing. The proud he, held it, and were enraged; gnashing upon him with their teeth, and even pining away with envy. But the Lord God was the hope of his servants, who took no regard to vanities and lying madnesse.

To conclude, when the hour was come wherein he was to make profession of his faith, (which at Rome it was the custome of those that were shortly to come unto thy Grace, to do in a forme of words, gotten by heart, and standing aloft upon a more eminent place, where they might well be seen of all the faithful people) there was an offer made (as he said) by the Priests to offer him, that he might make his profession more privately, as the custom was to offer that courtesie to some others

Here be divers particulars of the Primitive fablon, in the story of Victorinus. First being converted, he was to take the holy baptism of Christ, (which was to be by his Godfather) to go with him to the Bishop: who upon notice of it, admitted him a Catechumenus, and gave him those six points of Catechistical Doctrine, mentioned H. 6. 1, 2. When the time of Baptism was near, the young Christian came to give in his heathen name, which was presently refused; substituting himselfe to Exorcism. On the Eve, and he in a set forme, first he renounced the Devil, and so pronounceth, I cometh to thee, O Christ; repeating the Creed with it, in the forme here recorded. The time for giving in their names, must be within the two first watch of night: and the solemn day do renounce again, and say, I renounce the Devil, As it is in the Council of Laodicea, Can. 52. the

He were likely to be bold and fearfull as the matter: but he chose rather to profess his salvation in the presence of the holy assembly. For what as there was no salvation in that teaching which he had taught, and yet had he made public profession of that: how much lesse therefore ought he to dread that meek flock of thine, in the pronouncing of thy Word, who, in the delivery of his own words, had not feared the fullest audience of men?

6. So soon therefore as he was mounted up aloft to make his profession, as the rest had done; and were to do; every one that knew him, whispered his Name one to another with the voice of congratulation. And who was there that did not know him; and there ran a soft whisper through all the mouths of the rejoicing multitude, *Vidimus, Vidimus*. Soon spake they of him with triumphing, for that they saw him; and as quickly were they whistled again, that they might now hear him. He pronounced aloud the true Faith with an excellent boldnesse, and every man would gladly have plucked him to them into their very heart: yet greedily did they snatch him in, by loving of him, and rejoicing for him. These were the hands with which they snatch him.

CHAP. II.

That God and his Angels do rejoyce the more, at the conversion of a greater sinner.

God God! what is that which is wrought in man, that he should more rejoyce at the salvation of such a soule as was in a desperate condition.

tion, and which hath been delivered out of the
 greater danger, then if there had still been con-
 sidered good hope of him, or whose danger had been
 lesser? Men, even thou also, O most mercifull
 Father; do thou rejoyce over us, as thou rejoycest
 over ninety and nine just persons, that need no
 repentance. Luk. 15. 7. And with much joyfullnesse
 we hearken so often as we hear it, how the lost
 sheep is brought home again, upon the Shepherds
 shoulder rejoycing, v. 5. and that the lost goat is put
 into thy Treasury, by friends and neighbours
 rejoycing with the woman that had found it. Ye see
 the joy conceived at the solemn Service of thy house,
 make the teares come out of our eyes, when as the
 Parable of the younger Sonne is read in it, how he
 was dead, but made alive again; he was lost, but
 found again. For thou rejoycest both over us, as
 also over thy Angels, who continue holy, in holy
 chastity. For thou art over the same, and ever more-
 est after the self same manner, all those things
 which of themselves neither continue the same ever,
 nor after the same manner. What is that therefore
 which is wrought in the soul, when as it is more
 delighted to have either found or restored those
 things which it loved, than if it ever had posses-
 sed them? yea, and other creatures beare witness

This Lesson out of S. Luke, is much in use in the Primitive
 Service Book: and especially after that Puritan opinion of
 Unwar, who denied all pardon or absolution to be given by
 a Priest, to any that committed a deadly sin after Baptism.
 Which seeing these Parables of S. Luke disprove, that the
 Ancients engraved the figure of a Shepherd with the lost sheep
 upon his shoulder, upon their Communion-Cups, so shew how
 willing the Church was to receive Penitents to the Communion.
 See Periculus pudicitie, v. 17. in cap. 200. in c. 225. 1600

here

heraunt; and all things are full of testimonies
still crying out, That so it is.

2. The Emperour triumpheth when he is a Con-
querour; yet had he never overcome, had he re-
fought; and how much the more danger there
was in the Battell, so much the more rejoycing
there in the Triumph. The Storm tosses the Pas-
sengers, threatens shipwrack, and every body
waxes pale at his death approaching: but the Sky
clears up, and the Sea grows calm again; and they
are as much rejoyced, as they were over-scared.
A dear Friend of ours is sick, and his blood-letting
sheweth the malignity of the disease: all that wish
his good health, are thereupon sick in mind with
him. He proves well again, though not able to
walk up & down so strongly as he was wont to do;
yet is there so great an expression of joy made,
as never had been, when as before his sickness
he was able to walk perfectly, sound, and
lively.

3. Yea, the very pleasures of our humane life
do we procure by preceding difficulties: nor those
onely which fall upon us unlookt for, and against
our wills, but even purposed by us, and desired.
There is no pleasure at all in eating and drinking,
unless the pinching of hunger and thirst go before
it. The Drunkards eat certain salt meats, with
purpose to procure a thirsty hornesse in the mouth,
which whilst the drink quenches, the pleasure is
procured. The order also it is, that the Spouse al-
ready affianced, uses not instantly to be given
to her Sweet-heart, for fear lest when he is an hus-
band he should lesse esteem of her for being so soon
obtained, whom whilst he was a wooer he sighed

either, thinking her too long delayed. This is
 terrible in such joy as is dishonest; and to be
 approved; seen also in that joy which is consented
 to, and lawfull; seen likewise in the most sincere
 unity of friendship; seen lastly, in him who was
 lost, and afterwards revived; who was lost, and
 found. The greatest joy is every where uttered
 by the greatest painfulness.

What means this, O Lord my God, that
 thou art an everlasting joy unto thine own
 self; yet some things are ever-rejoycing in thee;
 concerning thee? What means this, that this in-
 terior division of things thus alters up and down,
 and going backwards and forwards, with fallings
 out, and making friends again? Is this the fashion
 of them; and is this that proportion thou then af-
 fixedst to them; when as even from the highest
 heavens, down to the lowest of the Earth, from the
 beginning of the world to the last end of it; from
 the Angels to the Worm; from the first thing that
 moveth, even unto the last; thou didst settle all
 kinds of good things, and all thine own just works
 in their proper places, and accomplishedst all in
 due seasons? Alas for me! how high art thou
 in the highest things, and how profound in the low-
 est! neither dost thou depart from us, nor are we
 fully able to return unto thee.

CHAP. IV.

Why we are more to rejoyce in the conversion of a great
 sinner.

GOD, O LORD, and make an end of
 thy, stir us up, and call us back; hinder
 us

us and pluck us to thee, inflame us, and grow
unto us: let us now love thee, and now run
to thee. Do not marry a man but of a deeper dun-
geon of blindness, than ever *Pierius* was in, run
unto thee: approach nearer to thee, and are
lightened with the beams they receive from thee,
which they that once receive, receive also power
themselves to become thy sons, *John. 1. 12.* who yet if
be little known among people, even those that
know them, are less joyfull for them, seeing
when so many rejoyce together, the joy of every
single man is the fuller: even for that they
themselves are, and are inflamed by one another.
Again, because those that are generally known,
are doors of salvation to the more, and give
example to follow them: and even therefore they
also which have gone before them, rejoyce
for them, because they rejoyce not for them alone.
For be it from our thoughs, that in thy *Tabernacle*
the persons of the rich should be accepted of before
the poor, or the Noble before the common people:
seeing rather thou hast chosen the weak things of
the world, to confound the mighty; and base things of
the world, and things which are despised hast thou chosen,
and things which are not, to bring to nought things
that are, *1. Cor. 1. 27.*

2. And yet even, this least of thy Apostles, by
whose tongue thou soundest out these words, when
as *Paulus* the Deputy had his pride beaten down by
the spirituall warfare of that Apostle, and was
to draw in the easie yoke of thy Christ, now made
the subject of the Great King: he also instead
of Saul, which was his name before, Desired to be called
Paul afterwards, in testimony of so great vic-
tory.

For the enemy is more overcome by wings
 than man from him, of whom he hath more hold,
 by whom he hath hold of many others. And
 as he is proud he hath the surer hold of, by rea-
 son of their Title of nobility, and of many more
 under them, by reason of their authority. How
 much more welcome therefore the heart of *Piscator*
 was esteemed, which the Devil had made
 himself master of, as of an invincible place of re-
 treat; and the tongue of *Piscatorius*, with which as
 his mighty and a most keen weapon he had slain
 many, so much the more abundantly became it thy
 mine to rejoyce, for that our King hath bound the
 tongue, *Mat. 12.* and that they saw his vessels
 cleansed from him and cleansed, *Luk. 11.* and to be
 serviceable for the Lord, unto every good
 work, *1 Tim. 6. 18.*

CHAP. V.

What bindeth vs. Conversion.

BUT so soon as thy servant *Simplicianus* had
 made an end of his story of *Piscatorius*, I was
 in fire to be imitating of him: yea, this was the
 end it was told it for. After which when he had sub-
 stituted this relation of himself: how that in the
 time of the Emperour * *Julian*, when there was a
 law made, whereby the *Christians* were forbidden
 to teach the *liberall Sciences* or *Oratory*; and how
 disobeying this law, chose rather to give over his
 school, than thy word, by which thou makest
 dumb the tongues of Infants: he seemed unto
 me to have been so valiant, as happy in it; for
 by this means he found the opportunity to at-

tend

* The Apostata.

tend upon thee only. Which opportunity my
 self sought for, thus bound as I was, not with an
 other mans *Iron*, but with my own *Iron will*. My
 willingness was the *Iron* master of; by which he
 made a chain for me, and had therewith bound me.
 "Because, that of a *forward will*, is a *lust* made
 "and a *lust* ever obeyed, becomes a *custome*; and a
 "custome not resisted, brings on a *necessity*. By which
 links as it were hanging one upon another, (in
 which I might well call it a chain) did a very hard
 bondage hold me enchained. As for that new will
 which now I began to have towards the free wor-
 shipping and enjoying of thee, O God, the com-
 assured sweetness; it was not able as yet to over-
 come my former wilfulness, now hardened in me
 by so long continuance. Thus did my two Wills,
 one new, and the other old; that carnall, and the
 fleshuall, my masteries within me, and by their
 disagreeing wasted out my soul.

Thus came I to understand (my self affording
 me the experiment) what I had sometimes read
 How the *flesh* lusteth against the *spirit*, and the *spirit*
 against the *flesh*. Gal. 5. 17. I verily lusted both
 ways; yet of the two, in that rather which I ap-
 proved of in my self, than that which I disallowed
 yet in sin, I now no more; because much as
 I suffered rather against my will, than did it with
 my will. And yet was *enslaved* now by mine own
 substance, become more sturdy against me, even be-
 cause I was comen willingly, whither my will was
 not to have come. And who then can, with any
 quiet heart, against it, if just punishment follow
 upon wilfull sinning? Nor had I now that faint

the *delectation* was not 7. 18. 29 & 30 ver. &c.

excu.

case, upon pretence of which I heretofore seemed
my self, not as yet engaged to forsake the world
to attend thy service, for that the knowledge of the
truth was hitherto uncertain unto me: seeing now
I was assured of it. But I being press for the sword,
wished to fight under thy Banner. Yea, as much as
I was to be freed of what did hinder my march
towards thee, as I ought to have been afraid of
what might hinder it. Thus with the baggage of this
corrupt world was I as sweetly overladen, as a man
is to be with slumbering: and those thoughts
with which I meditated upon thee, were like the
sifts of such as would get up, who being yet over-
come with a deep sleep, fall again into it. And like as
there is no man who desires to sleep alwayes, (for
that in any sober mans judgment it is much better
to keep waking:) yet does a man oftentimes defer to
shake off his drowsinesse, when he finds a heavy
luggishnesse all his body over, and angry at him-
self for it, yet he willingly takes another nap, not
withstanding it be high time for him to be stirring.
In like manner assured I was, that much better
were for me to give up my self to thy clarity, then
to give over my self to mine own sensuality.

3. But notwithstanding that former course plea-
sed, and overcame my reason, yet did this latter
trickle and intrude my senses. Nor had I any thing
new to answer thee calling to me, *Arise thou that
sleepest and stand up from the dead, and Christ shall
give thee light, Eph. 5. 14.* And whereas thou on all
sides shewedst me, that what thou saidst was true, I
had nothing at all to answer for my self, being con-

He pleases himself here with a military Metaphore.

vinced

vinced by that Truth; but certain liether and these
 his words only; *Amor, see, I come by and by, for
 sleep a little while.* But my new and short
 measure with them and my little while drove out
 to a mighty length. I in vain delighted in thy Law
 calling to my sisterman, when another law in my mem-
 bers, rebelled against the law of my mind, leading
 captive into the law of sin which was in my members.
Rom. 7. 21. That law of sin now, is the violence of cus-
 tome, by which the mind of man is drawn and hol-
 den against its will; deserving to be so holden, in
 that it so willingly slides into that custome. *Wrote
 I therefore who shall deliver me from the body
 of this death; but thy grace only, through Jesus
 our Lord.*

CHAP. VI.

Ponticianus relates the life of Saint Anthony.

AND the manner how thou deliveredst me
 out of the bonds of desire, which I had un-
 carnal concupiscence, (wherewith I was most
 straightly fettered) and from the drudgery of
 worldly businesse, will I now declare, and confesse
 unto thy name, O Lord my helper and my re-
 deemer. My wonted unsetlednesse of mind grew
 more and more upon me; and I daily sent up sighs
 unto thee. Thy Church I resorted frequently unto
 as my businesse (under the burden of which
 groaned) would give me leave. *Alpinus* was now in
 company with me; having a time of leisure from
 his law businesse, now after the *third sitting*, ex-
 pecting other clients whom he might sell his coun-
 saile unto; as I used to tell the skill of pleading.

Post Allicionem tertiam.

his skill in the meane time, be not a gift of nature, rather than a purchase of art. *Nepidius* had now condescended to our friendly requests; as privately to instruct *Marcellus* (a very familiar friend to all of us) a *Chirzen* and a *Gramarian* of *Atenas*; who vehemently requested, and by the right of friendship, did even challenge such a friendly ayd from our company, as he very much stood in need of.

Nepidius therefore was not drawne to that point by any desire of profit (for he might have taken more beneficial courses, if he had pleased to make use of his learning;) but being a most sweet and tractable companion, out of his respects of courtesie, would not slight the request we made to him. But he carried it very discreetly, still wary of being knowne to those personages whom the world esteem'd great, declining thereby all breaking off the quiet of his own minde, which he resolv'd to reserve free to himself, and at leisure as many houres as might be, for the seeking, or reading, or hearing something concerning *wisdom*.

3. Upon a certain day therefore, *Nepidius* being absent (the occasion I do not now remember) behold, there came home unto me and *Alipius*, one *Pentitionus* a Countrey man of ours; an *African* who had an office of good credit in the Emperors Court. What he would with us, I now know not: but down together we sat, and into discourse we fell. It so hapned that upon the table before us, which we used to play upon, he espied a book lying up he took, and opened it; and quite besides

In Palacio militans. There was militia Togata, Ecclesiastica & Anlica, as well as Armata.

his expectation, found it to be St. Pauls Epistle; whereas he rather thought it had been some of those books, which I wore out my self in the looking of. At which he smiling to himself, and saying unto me (in congratulating manner as it was wonderfull not a little, that he had so unexpectedly found such a kind of book; and onely such an one lying before me. For he was both a Christian, and Baptized too; and one that often used to praise himself before that our GOD in the Church in frequent and daily prayers. Whom therefore when I had once told, how that I bestowed much pain upon those Writings; there began a speech (himself being the relater) of *Anthony* the Monk of Egypt, whose name was in most high reputation among thy servants, though for our parts we had not much as once heard of him to that houre. Which when he had discovered, he insisted the more upon that discourse, insinuating the knowledge of *Anthony* a man unto us, and admiring at that our ignorance of him.

4. But we stood amazed on the other side, hearing such wonderfull works of thine; so generally testified, so fresh in memory, and almost in our own times, to be done in the true faith and Church Catholike. We all wondered: we, to hear such great things reported; and he, that we had never heard them. From this story of *Anthony*, took he occasion to discourse of some companies of Monasteries, and the fashions of thine own sweet-smelling *Isaiah*, and the * desert breasts of the Wildernesses of all

* *monasteria* *greges*, & *mones* *suavolentia* *regis*, & *desert* *breasts*. This the *Isaiah* *Translatus* *Isaiah*, Great mon-

of Monasteries where these things are performed which
is pleasing unto thee, &c. Judge Reader, how the Latine can
be by construction: and how to make it, he put a sentence
in one. For Monasteries, see our Preface.

which we knew nothing. And there was at the same
time a Monastery at Milan, full of good brethren,
within the walls of the City, under a house the
mother of it, and yet we knew nothing of it. He
went on with his tale, and we listened to him with
great silence. Hereupon he took occasion to tell,
how himself (I know not at what time) and three
more of his *Comrades* (and it was at *Triens* when as
the Emperour was taken up with seeing of the *Cir-
cus* chariot-races, one afternoon) went out to
walk into the Gardens next the City-walls; where
they fell out, they sorted themselves into two com-
panies, one of the three keeping with him, and
the other two walking at large also by themselves.
As these two were ranging up and down, they
chanced by chance upon a certain house, inhabi-
ted by divers of thy servants, poor in spirit, of whom
saith the *Kingdome of God*, Mat. 5. 3. where they found
a little book, wherein the life of *Anubony* was de-
scribed.

One of them began to read wonder at it, and
was inflamed with it; and even in the very read-
ing to devise with himself upon the taking such a
book upon him, and by giving over his secular im-

the Monastery at Milan then; but how many, and of how
many several orders be there now to name, be they *Romans* and
others. He calls *Divesoria* (and not *Monasteri*) who had no
other but of a richness; and a Priest to govern them. But in
Monasteries they wrought for their living. Aug. de M. lib.
1. c. 31. & 33.

ments, to betake himself unto thy service. And this man was one of those Officers of Court whom they stile *agents for the publique affairs*. Then suddenly being filled with an holy love, and a sober shamefastness, even angry at himself as he cast his eyes upon his friend, saying: Tell me, I beseech thee, what preferment is that unto which all these labours of ours aspire? what aime we? what haire we serve the State for? can our hopes in Court rise higher than to be the Emperours favourites? in which fortune what is there not brittle and full of perils? and by how many dangers arrive we at last unto one danger greater than all the rest? And how long shall we be getting thus high, whereas if I be desirous to become the friend of God, I have even now made it.

6. Thus he said: And all in pain in the *Trial*
of newness of life, he turn'd his eyes again upon
the book and read on, and was inwardly changed,
where thou alone couldst discern him, and his
mind was quite dispossess'd of worldly cares, as pre-
sently after it appeared. For as he read forward,
and roll'd up and down those waves of his heart

* *Agrocora in rebus.* There was a Society of them still about the Court. Their militia or employments were, To gather in the Emperours Tributes: To fetch in offenders: To do P. l. obsequia offices of Court, provide Corn, &c. ride off errands: Messengers of the Chamber, lie abroad as spies and intelligencers. They were often preferred to Places of Magistracy in the Provinces: such were called Principes or Magistratus. S. Hieronym upon Abdias cap. 2. calls them Messengers: They furnished the Frumentarii. Between which two, and the Censori, and the Speculatores, there was not much difference. The other Translatore, because he understood none of them, but only left out the sentence: Wisely,

he made expression of some indignation at himself, felt an inward conflict, and resolved finally of much better courses. And thus now become wholly thine, he saith unto his friend, Even now have I broke these from those ambitious hopes of ours, and am fully resolved to serve God only; and this, from this houre forward, in this very place, will I enter upon: as for thee, if it irke thee to imitate me, yet do not offer to dissuade me. Whereunto the other answered, that he also would closely stick unto him, as his partner in so ample a reward, and his fellow in so honourable a service. Thus both of them now become thine, reared up a spirituall Tower with that treasure as richly able to do it. *Of forsaking all, and following thee.* Potitianus then and the other that was with him, that had walkt over other parts of the Garden in search of them, came in the very nick into the same place where they were; and having there found them, put them in minde of going homewards, for that it began to grow something late. But they discovering their resolution and purpose unto them, and by what meanes that will began, and came to be settled in them; humbly desired they would not be troublesome to them, if so be they refused to joyn themselves unto them. But Potitianus and his friend, no whit altered from their old wont, did yet bewail themselves with teares (as he affirmed) piously congratulating with them, recommended themselves to their prayers, and turning their hearts towards earthly things, returned into the Court. But the other two setting their affections upon heavenly, remained in that Cottage. And both of them were contracted to Sweet hearts: who having once heard of this busi-

ness, & dedicated also their own Virginitie unto God. This was *Potitianus* his story.

Here the Popish Translator notes, A vow of Virginitie after Contract. That. Alas what would you have the poor women do better than their Sweethearts? What's this to Popish Devils, to himselfe. God's commandment is against it: whereas Nunneries are a snare for the State as for the Church. As most promiscuously were the Virgins kept still in their Fathers houses, so these do for a while we know. See our Note upon the next Chapter.

CHAP. VII.

He was out of love with himself upon this story.

But thou, O Lord, all the while that he was speaking, didst turn me back to reflect upon my self; taking my intentions from behind my back, where I had heretofore onely placed them, when as I had no list to observe mine own self, and thou now setst me before mine own face, that I might discern how filthy, and how crooked, and fordid, and bespotted, and ulcerous I was. And I beheld and abhorred my self, nor could I find any place whither to flee from my self. And if I went about to turn mine eye from off my self, yet did that tell me as much, as *Potitianus* erst had done, and thou thereupon opposedst my self unto my self, and thrustest me ever and anon into mine own eyes, to make me find at last mine own iniquity, and to loath it. I had heretofore taken notice of it, but I had again dissembled it, winkt at it, and forgotten it. But at this time, how much the more ardently I loved those two, whose wholesome pur-

poses

poses I heard tell of, even for that they had resigned up themselves unto thee to be cured; so much the more detestably did I hate my selfe in comparison of them. Because I had already lost so many years, (twelve or thereabouts) since that nineteenth of mine age, when upon the reading of Cicero's *Hortensius*, I was first stirred up to the study of *wisdom*; since when (having first despised all earthly felicity) I too long delayed to search out that, whose not finding alone; but the bare seeking, ought to have been preferred before all the treasures and Kingdomes of this world already found, and before all the pleasures of the body, though in all abundance to be commanded.

2. But I, most wretched young fellow that I was, unhappy even in the very entrance into my youth, had even then begged chastity at thy hands, and said, Give me chastity and continency, but do not give it yet: for I was afraid that thou wouldst hear me too soon, and too soon deliver me from my disease of Incontinencie; which my desire was, rather to have satisfied, than extinguished. Yea, I had wandered with a sacrilegious superstition through most wicked ways of *Manichism*; not yet sure that I was right, but preferring that, as it was, before those others which I did not so much seek after religiously, as oppose maliciously. And this was the

* This was the Primitive practice, even to premise prayer before vowing; and still to intermix prayers for ability to go through their vows. Surely I have seen divers Masse books Portuall and peculiar to severall Orders of Fryers, and to the Nuns of S. Clare, &c. yet never saw I there a set Prayer for the gift of Chastity. But perchance they desire it not yet, nor whilst they are young.

reason, and I think why I deferred from day to day to contain all hopes in this world, and to follow thee only; for that there did not appear any certain end, which I was to direct my course unto. But now was the day come wherein I was to be set naked before my self, and when mine own conscience was to convince me.

2. Where art thou my tongue? that tongue which saidst, how that for an uncertainty thou wouldst not yet cast off the *baggage* of vanity. See, certainty hath appeared now! and yet does that burthen still overload thee: whereas behold, others have gotten wings to free their shoulders by flying from under it; others, I say, who neither have so much worne out themselves with seeking after that certainty, nor yet spent ten whole yeeres and more, in thinking how to do it. Thus felt I a convulsive within, yea most vehemently confounded I was with a horrible shame, when as *Pomilius* was a telling that story. And he having done both his tale and the businesse he came for, went his way: and I said unto my self; nay, what said I notwithstanding my self? with what scourges of condemning sentences laſt I not mine own soul, to make it follow me, endeavouring now to go after thee, which yet drew back? It refused, but gave no reason to excuse its refusall by. All his arguments were already spent and confuted, there remained a silent trembling; and it feared, like the death, to be restrained of the swinge of custome, which made it pine away even to very death.

* *Auguſtine* was freckled. *This he ſays*. There remaineth in me a kind of freckle, which is. Nothing is in the margin, it is a correction. *It was a non-ſenſe.*

CHAP.

CHAP. VIII.

What he did in the Garden.

IN the midst then of all this vast tempest of my inner house, which I had so stoutly rais'd up against mine own soul, in our Chamber, my heart; all over troubled both in mind and countenance, upon *Alpine* I set, with open mouth crying out, What tarry we any longer? what is this? what heardest thou even now? The unlearned of the world start up and take the Kingdoms by violence, and we with all our learning, wanting heart, see how we wallow us in flesh and blood. Because others are gone before, is it a shame for us to come after? or is it not rather a great shame not at all to go after them? Some such words as these I then uttered, but what I know not; and in that heat away I flung from him, while with silence and astonishment, he wisely lookt upon me. For my speeches sounded not now, in the key they were wont to doe: yea, my forehead, my cheeks, my eyes, my colour, and the accent of my voyce, spake out my mind more emphatically, than the words did which I uttered.

A Garden there was belonging to our lodging, which we had the liberty of, as well as of any other part of the house; for the master of the house our host, lived not there: Thither had the tempest within my breast now hurried me, where no man might come to pursue that fiery action which I had entered against my self, untill it came to a good issue; but which way, God thou knowest, I know not. Only I was for the time most soberly and, and I dyed vitally; sensible enough what piece of

misery for the present I now was, but utterly ignorant how good I shortly was to grow. Into the Garden went I, and *Alipius* followed me foot by foot: for I had no secret retiring place, if he were near; or when did he ever forsake me, when he perceiv'd me to be ill-disposed? Down we sat as far yet from the house as possibly we could. I fretted in the spirit, angry at my self with a most tempestuous indignation for that I went not about to make my peace and league with thee my God, which all my bones cryed out upon me to do, extolling it to the very skies. A businesse it is which we go not about, carried unto in Ships, or Chariots, or upon our own legs, no not so small a part of the way to it, as I had comen from the house, into that place where we were now sitting.

3. For, not to go towards onely, but to arrive fully at that place, required no more but the *will* to go to it, but yet to *will* it resolutely and thoroughly; not to stagger and tumble down an half-wounded *will*, now on this side, & anon on that side; setting the part advancing it self, to struggle with another part that is a falling. Finally, in these vehement passions of my delay, many of those things performed I with my body, which men sometimes would do, but cannot, if either they have not the limbs to do them withall, or if those limbs be bound with cords, weakned with infirmity, or be any other wayes hindered. If I teare my self by the hair, beat my forehead, if locking my fingers one within another, I beclapsed my knee; all this I *did*, because I *would*. But I might have *willed* it, and yet not have *done* it, if so be the motion of my limbs had not been pliable enough to have performed it. So many things

things therefore I now did, at such time, as the will was not all one with the Power; and standing on the other side, I then did not, which did incomparably more affect me with pleasure, which yet so soon as I had the will to do, I had the Power also; because so soon as ever I *willed*, I *willed* it thoroughly; for at such a time the Power is all one with the will; and the *willing* is now the *doing*; and yet, was not the thing *done*. And more easily did my body obey the weakest *willing* of my soule in the moving of its limbs at her beck; when my soule had obeyed its self in this point of her great contentment, which was to receive perfection in the will alone.

CHAP. IX. *Why the soule is so slow to goodnesse.*

Whence now is this monster? and to what purpose? Let thy mercy enlighten me, that I may put this question; if so be those concealed anguishes which men feel, and those most undiscoverable pangs of contrition of the tonnes of Adam, may perhaps afford me a right answer. Whence is this monster? and to what end? The soule commands the body, and is presently obeyed: the soule commands it self, and is resisted. The soule gives the word, commanding the hand to be moved; and such readinesse there is, that the instant of command, is scarcely to be discerned from the moment of execution. Yet the soule is the soule, where the hand is of the body. The soule commands, that the soule would *will* a thing; nor is the soule another thing from the soule; and yet obeys it

not the command. Whence is the monster? and
 how is it possible? The soul (I say) commands
 itself to do a thing, which never would give
 the command, unless it willed it: yet is not the
 thing done, which it commanded.

It is. But it *wills* not entirely: therefore does
 it neither command entirely. For so far forth it
 commands, as it *wills*: and, so far forth is
 the thing done, which is commanded, as it *wills*
 it not. Because, the *will* commandeth that the
 be *will*; not another will, but the same. Because
 verily it does not command *fully*, therefore is not
 the thing done, which it commanded. For were the
willing full, it would never command there should
 be *willing*, because that *willing* was extant before.
 'Tis therefore no monster partly to *will*, and partly
 to *Not*; only an infirmity of the soule it is, that
 it being overloaded with ill custome, cannot entire-
 ly rise up together, though supported by *Grace*.
 Hence is it that there be two *Wills*, for that one
 of them is *deceptive*: and the one is supplied with
 that, wherein the other is defective.

With, and the former Chapter, both the other Translator
 & Translators intend, that is, a very Coder.

CHAP. X.

The will of man is various.

Let them perish out of thy sight, O God,
 those vain bablers, and those seducers of the

Non est in eis veritas.

shall deperish: who when as they did observe that
there were two Wills in the act of deliberating;
affirmed thereupon, that there are two kinds of na-
tures, of two kinds of souls, one good, and the other
bad. Themselves are truly bad, when as they be-
lieve those bad opinions: and the same men shall
become good, when they shall come to believe
the opposite opinions, and shall consent unto the same, that
is possible may say unto them, *Ye were formerly
darkness, but now are ye light in the Lord*, Eph. 5. 8.
But these fellows would be light indeed, not in the
Lord, but in themselves; imagining the nature of
the soul, to be the same, that God is. Thus have
they made more grosse darkness, for that they have
been farther from thee, through a horrid arrogan-
cy, from thee, the true light that enlighteneth every
man that cometh into this world, Job. 3. 3. Take
heed what you say, and blush for shame: draw near
unto him and be enlightened, and your faces shall
not be ashamed, Ps. 34. 4. My self when sometime
I deliberated upon serving of the Lord my God,
(I had long purposed) it was I my self who willed
it, and I my self who killed it. I, was I my self; I
either willed entirely, nor yet killed entirely.
Therefore was I at strife with my self, and contended
by mine self. What hindering befell me much against
my mind, nor yet shewed it forth the nature of an-
other mans mind, but the punishment of mine own.
Therefore my self was not the cause of it: but the
sinne that dwelt in me; and that was punishment of
that first spreading sinne of Adam, whose sonne I
was. For if there be so many contrary natures in
man, as there be wills resisting one another;
there

there shall not now be two *natures* alone, but many. Suppose a man should deliberate with himself, whether he should go to their *Conventicle*, or go see a *Play*; presently these *Manichæans* cry out, Behold, here are two *natures*: one good, which leads this way; and another bad, which draws that way. For whence else is this murmuring of the *Wills* thus thwarting one another? But answer, that both these *Wills* be bad: that *Will* which carries to their *Conventicle*; as the other, which leads unto the *Theater*. But they will not believe that *Will* to be other than good, which brings men to *them*. Suppose then one of us should deliberate, and through the dispute of his two *Wills* should be in a quandary, whether he should go see a *Play*, or come to our *Church*; would not these *Manichæans* be as much in a quandary what to answer? For either they must confesse, (which by their good *Wills* they will never grant) That the *Will* which leads to our *Church* is the better, as it is in them which go to *their Church*, who are partakers of *her* sacraments, and detained in *her* obedience: or else must they suppose that there be two *evil natures*, and two *evil soules* in one man, which combat one another: or must they (lastly) be converted to the truth, and no more deny, that in the Act of one mans deliberation, there is *one* *soule* distracted between two contrary *Wills*. Let them no more say therefore, that when as they perceive two *Wills* to be contrary one to another in the same part, that there be two contrary *soules*, made of two contrary substances, from two contrary principles, one good, & the other bad, contending one with another.

3. For thou, O true God, dost disprove, check,

and convinced thus like as when he hath with him
 a sword, he deliberates with himself, whether he
 should kill a man by poison or by the sword? whe-
 ther he should rob a man, or take away another
 mans ground, when as he cannot do both: whether
 he should purchase pleasure, with prodigality, or
 keep close his money, by covetousness? whether
 he should go to the chace, or to the sword-
 play; if they were both to be seen upon one day?
 I adde also a third instance; whether he should
 rob another mans house, had he the opportunity?
 and a fourth. I adde: Or whether he should com-
 mit adultery, had he the means? it being presup-
 posed, that all these concurred in the same instant
 of time, and that all these acts be equally desired,
 which cannot possibly be all at one time acted.

4. For verily they tear in sunder the soul, as
 amongst four severall wills, clean contrary to one
 another: yet, in such variety of things which are
 desirable, perchance among more than four: yet
 use they not to affirm that there is any such multi-
 tude of divers substances. Thus also is it in such
 wills as are good. For I demand of them, whether it
 be a good thing to be delighted in reading of the
 scriptures? and whether it be a good mind to be de-
 lighted in a sober Psalm? or, whether it be a good
 act to discourse upon the Gospel? They will answer
 to each of those, that it is good. What now if all these
 equally delight us, & all together at the same time?
 Do not divers wills then rack the mind, as it were,
 when as a man is deliberating, to which of all these
 he should chiefly betake him? yet are all these wills
 good, although they all contend with one another,
 till such time as one of the three be made choice of,
 towards

which the whole will may be manifestly being
 united, which was before divided necessary. This
 also, whereas every delight the stricter part
 and the pleasure of immortality had been fast
 inferior; it to be one and the same soul which
 willeth not *This* or *That* with an *indifference*; and
 is therefore sure slender with grievous perpe-
 tuation, which it prefers *This* over *That* by *That*
 yet forbears not *That*, made familiar to it by the
 flesh. On which the *will* of the *soul* is *indifferent*
 to the *will* of the *flesh* and the *will* of the *spirit*.

CHAP. XI.

The combat in him between the Spirit and the flesh.

THUS soul-sick I was, and in this manner tor-
 mented; accusing my self much more ca-
 pably than I was wont; turning and winding my
 self to my chain; till that which held me might be
 utterly broken; which though but little, yet be-
 lie me fast enough notwithstanding. And thou, O
 Lord, pressedst upon me in my inward parts by a
 most severe mercy, redoubling thy lashes of fear
 and shame, lest I should give way again, and lest
 the breaking off of that small and slender Yee,
 which now only was left, should recover strength
 again, and hamper me again the faster. For I was
 within my self, *Behold, let it be done now,*
let it be done forthwith. And no sooner had I
 said the word, but that I began to put on the
 resolution. Now I even almost did it yet indeed
 I did it not: yet notwithstanding fell I not quite
 back to my old wont, but stood in the degree next
 to it, to fetch new breath as it were. Yea, I say

The necessity of correction easily expressed.

open it again, and I wanted but very little of getting up to it; and within a very little, even by and by obtained I to touch and to lay hold of it; and yet could I not get up to it, nor come to touch or lay full hold of it: still fearing to dye late death and to live unto life: and the worse which I had been anciēly accustomed unto; prevailed more with me than the better, which I had never tryed: yea, the very instant of time, wherein I was to become another man, the nearer it approacht to me, the greater horror did it strike into me. But for all this did not strike me utterly back; nor turn'd me quite off; but kept me in suspence only.

2. The very toys of all toys, and vanities of vanities (those ancient favourites of mine) were they which so fast with-held me; they took me by this fleshly garment, and spake softly in mine ear, *Canst thou thus part with us? and shall we no more accompany thee from this time forth for ever? and from this time forth shall it no more be lawful for thee to do This or That for ever?* And what were those things which they suggested to me in that phrase, *This or That*, (as I said) what were those which they suggested, O my God? Such, as let my mercy utterly turn away from the soul of thy servant. Oh what impurities! oh what most filthy things did they suggest! I heard them verily not half so neer hand now, nor now so freely contradicting and opposing me; but muttering as it were softly behind my back, and even now ready to be packing, yet giving me a privy pluck

See the *Manifestations of Sin*.
 Here the former Translator added the phrase, *in reading*.
 Conrad cens for Contradicentes, and Disscedens for Dis-
 sentes.

to look once more back again upon them; yet for all this did they make me how again delaying the time, much flatter in snatching away my self, and in shaking them off; and in leaping from them, to the place I was called unto; namely, when a violent collicke thus rowned me in the eare, *I thought that to be true able to live without This or That?*

3. But by this time to spake but very faintly for on that side which I set my face towards, and whither I trembled to go, was that *abuse of dignity* discovered; *there full she was, but not sufficiently pleasant*; honestly tempting me to come to her, and doubt nothing: yea stretching forth those devout hands of hers, so full of the multitude of good examples; both to receive, and to embrace me. There was in company with her very many both *Young men, and Maids*, a multitude of youth and of all ages: both grave *Widowes* and ancient *Virgins*, and continued her self in the midst of them all, not barren altogether, but a happy Mother of *Children of Joyes*, by cheere her husband. O Lord. And she was pleasant with me with a kind exhorting quip, as if she should have said, *Can we then perform what these of both sexes have performed? or can any of these perform thus much themselves, or rather by the Lord their GOD? The Lord then God gave me unto them, why standest thou upon thine own strength, and standest not at all? Call thy self upon Him, feare not, He will not slip*

I am afraid, that God makes not all the Fryers and Nuns enough like Papists. I doubt all have not the gift of Concomitance: we have examples to the contrary. Formal vomer, but mortal breacher of chastity, Yawning, and yet burning.

they and make other fall; call thy self severely upon him. He will excuse thee; and He will heal thee. I blusht all this while to my self very much, for that I yet heard the mitering of those sayes, and that I yet hung in suspense. Whereunto *Continence* again replied, Stop thine eares against those unclean members of thine which are upon the earth; that they may be mortified. They sell thee of delights indeed, but not such as the law of the Lord thy God tels thee of. This was the controversie I felt in my heart; about nothing but my self; against my self. But *Aspius* sitting by my side, in silence expected the issue of my unaccustomed alleviation.

CHAP. XII.

How he was converted by a Voyce.

SO soon therefore as a deep consideration even from the secret bottome of my soul, had drawn together and laid all my misery upon one heap before the eyes of my heart; there rose up a mighty storm; bringing as mighty a showre of tears with it; which that I might powre forth with such expressions as suited best with them, I rose from *Alas*: for I conceived that solitarinesse was more fit for a businesse of weeping. So far off then I went that his presence might not be troublesome unto me. Thus disposed was I at that time, and he thought, I know not what, of it: something, I believe, I had said before, which discovered the sound of my voice to be big with weeping, and in that case I rose from him. He theroupon staid alone where we sat together, most extremely astonished. I hung

I flung down my self I know not how, under a
 tree, giving all liberty to my tears,
 whatsoever the floods of mine eyes gushed out, as
 acceptable sacrifice to thee, O Lord. And then
 not perceiving in these very words, yet much
 this purpose, said I unto thee: And thou, O Lord,
 how long? how long Lord wilt thou be angry, in
 ever? Remember not our former iniquities: for
 I found my self to be still entralled by them. Yet
 I came up to these miserable exclamations: How long
 how long? still to morrow, and to morrow? Will
 not now? wherefore even this very hour is then
 not an end put to my uncleanness? *homo si iustus*

— 2. — Thus much I uttered, weeping among in the
 most bitter contrition of my heart: when as be-
 hold, I heard a voice from some neighbour house,
 as it had been of a Boy or Girl I know not which,
 in a singing tune saying, and often repeating,
 TAKE UP BOOK AND READ: TAKE UP
 BOOK AND READ: Instantly changing my
 countenance thereupon, I began very heedfully
 to seek out my self, whether children were wont to
 thus to obeying to sing any such words: nor could
 I remember my self even to have heard the like
 which upon reflecting the violent contents of my
 heart, yet I judge, interpreting in no other way
 but that I was from God himself commanded, To
 open the book, and to read that Chapter which
 should first light upon. For I had heard of so
 many, that by hearing of the Gospel which he was
 come to the reading of, he took himself to be
 sanctified, as if what was required perfectly was

then unto him: *On, and follow me, and thou shalt have mercy
from heaven: and come and follow me.* And by
this miracle was he presently converted unto
the faith in Jesus Christ.

And hastily therefore went I again to that place
where *Alipius* was sitting: for there had I laid the
Book when as I arose from thence. I sought
it, and opened it, and in silence I read that Chapter
which I first cast mine eyes upon: Not in eating
or drunkenness, nor in chambering and wantonness,
nor strife and envying: But put ye on the Lord Jesus
Christ, and make no provision for the flesh, to fulfil
the lusts thereof. No further would I read: but
I said: For instantly even, with the end of the
day, by a light as it were of security now dart-
ed into my heart: all the darknesse of doubting
was washed away. Shutting up the book therefore,
and putting my finger between, or I knew not what
mark, with a well-quieted countenance I
returned all this unto *Alipius*.

And he again in this manner revealed unto
me what also was wrought in his heart, which I
knew nothing of. He requested to see what
I had read: I shewed him the place: and he looked
over then I had read, but knew I what followed.
He followed him: but I was in the faith: as
Rom. 14. 1. which he applied to himself, and

It thus appears that all Popish Ergers are verily to be
condemned as idle brachery like the Rom. 14. 1. and
that all young men should be kept from
all. So that a Monastery is like when there are
many sick. They sell all to go in: but go in when they
are old and spent all. Mar. 19. 24. Rom. 13. 13.

Shewed

shewed it me. And by this admonition was
strengthened, and took that good resolution
purpose (which was most agreeable to his dis-
position, wherein he did alwayes very far differ from
me, to the better) without all turbulent delayes
did he now apply himself. From thence went he
into the house unto my mother; we discover
ourselves, the joyces for it: we declare in order
every thing was done: the leaps for joy; and re-
compence, and blessed thee, *why art able to do what
that which we ask or think*; For that she perceived
time to have given her more concerning me, than
she was wont to beg by her painfull and most do-
lefull groanings. For so thoroughly thou convertest
me unto thy self, that I sought now none other
a Wife, nor any other hopes in this world, than
being sealed in the same rule and line of Faith,
which thou hadst shewed me unto her in a vision
so many years before*. Thus didst thou convert
her mourning into rejoycing, and that much more
plentifully than she had desired, and that much
more dearly and a chaster way than she erst re-
quired: namely, if she had received *Grandchilden* in
my body.

* This vision is mentioned lib. 3. cap. 11. The same in *Regula* lib. 1. or *Tractatus* lib. 1. of *Regula*, as here is. I have not read it so by my manuscripts. And the Critics may say, that beside that S. August. uses to play upon the words, (*Regula*, *Linea*, and *Linea*) was impudat he it is that his mother was then on the top of the house praying, when she had her vision. *How did S. August. pray and had his vision, this may be easily said.* I am sure that the Rule of Faith, signified the *Line* of Faith. So that the vision assured her, that she was sealed in the same *Line*.

SAINT AUGUSTINES

Confessions.

The Ninth Book.

CHAP. I.

merciful Gods goodnesse, and acknowledgeth his
wretchednesse.

O Lord, truly I am thy servant, I am thy
servant, and the sonne of thy hand-
maid; thou hast broken my bonds in
sunder. I will offer to thee the sacri-
fice of praise. Ps. 116. 16. 17. let my
heart praise thee and my tongue;
let all my bones say, O Lord, who is like unto thee?
let them say, and answer thou me, And say unto
my soule, I am thy salvation, Psal. 35. 10. Who am
I, and what manner of man? What evill have not
I been? either my deeds evill; or if not them, yet
my words been evill; or if not them, yet was
my will evill. But thou, O Lord, art good and
mercifull, and thy right hand had respect unto the
profoundnesse of my death, and drew forth of the
bottom of my heart, that bottomlesse gulf of cor-
ruption: which was, to will all that thou wilt not,
and to will all that thou wilt.

2. But where was that right hand so long and
and out of what bottom and deep secret
was my Free-will called forth in a moment, when
by I submitted my neck to thy mastery, Master,
and put down down under thy light banner, O
Christ, my Shepherd and my Redeemer? How
How pleasant was it all on the sudden made
me, to want the sweets of those Toys? Yes, and
I before feared to lose, was now a joy unto me
forgone. For thou didst cast them away from me,
even thou that true and chiefest Sweetness. Thou
threwst them out, and instead of them ramst
thy self, sweeter than all pleasure, though not
flesh and blood; brighter than all light; yet more
privy than all secrets; higher than all honour,
though not to the high in their own conceits. Now
became my soul free from those biting cares of
sins, and getting, and weltring in filth, and
scratching off that itch of lust. And I talked more
familiarily now with thee my honour, and my
rest, and my health, my Lord God.

CHAP. II.

He gives over his teaching of Rhetorick.

1. **A**ND I resolved in thy sight, though not
multuously to snatch away, yet fairly to
withdraw, the service of my tongue from the
war of Do-labours: that young students, (as
students in thy Law, nor in thy peace, but in doing
dodges and law-skirmishes) should no longer buy
at my mouth the engines for their own madnesse.
And very seasonably fell it out, that it was bene

In harvest and vintage time had the Lawyers their vacation:
 when I resolv'd to endure them, that I might then
 let my leave the more solemnly; when, being
 caught off by thee, I purpos'd to return no more
 to their mercenary. Our purpose therefore was
 known only unto thee; but to none other than our
 friends, was it not known. For we had agreed
 among our selves not to disclose it abroad to any
 body: although us, now ascending from the valley
 of tears, and singing that *Isaiah of degrees*, hadst
 thou armed with *sharp arrows*, & but *burning coals*
 to destroy such subtle tongues, as would cross
 our purpose by seeming to advise us, and make
 an end of us; pretending to love us, as men do
 with their meat. Thou hadst shot through our
 hearts with thy charity, and we carried thy words
 as it were sticking in our bowels: and the exam-
 ples of thy servants, whom of black thou hadst made
 bright; and of dead, alive. Which charity and
 examples being piled together in the bosoms of
 our thoughts, did burn and utterly consume that
 popish Noisfulness of ours, that we might no
 more be plung'd into the deep by it. Yea, they
 set us on so vehemently, as that all the blasts of the
 subtle tongues of gain saying might inflame us the
 more fiercely, but never extinguish us.

In harvest and vintage time had the Lawyers their vacation.
So Martinus Felix, Schollers, their Non Terminus, is here.
Divinity Lectures and Catechising then ceased. So Cy-
prus, Epist. 21. The Law-terms give way also to the great
Festivals of the Church. Theodosius forbade any Procession
to me from 15 dayes before Easter till the Sunday after. For the
Term, see Caroli Calvi. Capitula, lib. 8. pag. 90.

He alludes to De profundis, Psal. 130.

Here the Popish Translator talks of a Beacon, do you see any?
 2 Never-

1. Nevertheless, because of thy name which thou hast sanctified throughout the earth; and that our desire and purpose might likewise be commendable in itself, I feared, lest some other would take occasion for me not to expect the day of resurrection; but before I had to give over my public Profession, which every man had an eye upon; and that the mouths of all the bold ones, being turned upon my fact, (wherby I should desire to go off before the time of Vintage so near approaching) would give it out, that I did it purposely, affecting to appear some great man. And to whom would it have terrified me, whose people contest and dispute upon my purpose, and to have me good to be evil spoken of? Rom. 14. 10. Furthermore; for that in the Summer time my lungs began to decay with my over-much pain-taking in my School, and to breath with difficulty, and by the pain in my breast to signify themselves to be spending; and to refuse too slow, or too long speaking; I had been much troubled heretofore at the matter; for that (namely) I was constrained even upon necessity, to lay down the burthen of teaching, or if in case I could possibly be cured and grow sound again, at least for a while to forbear it. But so soon as this full resolution to give my self leisure, and to see how *thou art the Lord*, first arose, and was afterwards settled in me: God thou knowest how I began to rejoice that I had this; and that no unfained excuse, which might something take off the offence taken by such parties, who for their childrens good, would by their good wills, that I should never have given over schooling.

1. Full therefore of such like joy, I held out till that *Intym* of time were run. I know not well whether there might be some twenty dayes of it; yet I courageously underwent them. But for that *gentleness* (which was wont to beare part of the weight of my businesse) had now quite left me, I should have utterly been oppressed, had not patience slept up in its room. Some of thy servants, my brethren, may say perchance, that I sinned in this; for that being with full consent of heart enroli'd my souldier, I suffered my self to sit one houre in the chair of lying. And for my part I cannot defend my self. But hast not thou, O most mercifull Lord, both pardoned and remitted this, amongst other most horrible and deadly sinners, in the holy water of Baptisme?

CHAP. III.

Verecundus lends them his Country house.

Verecundus became lean again with vexing at himself upon this good hap of ours, for that being detained by some engagements, by which he was most strongly obliged; he saw himself likely to lose our company, as being not yet a Christian, though his wife were indeed baptized. And by her as being a clogge that hung chieser to him than all the rest, was he chiefly kept from that journey which we now intended. And a Christian he would not (as he said) be any other waves made, than by that way, which he as yet could not. However, most courteously in truth did he proffer us, that

that we might freely make use of his Countrey house, so long as we meant to stay there. Then O Lord, shalt reward him for it in the resurrection of the just, seeing thou hast already rendered him the lot of mortality. For although it was in our absence, as being then at Rome, that he was taken with a deadly sicknesse; yet departed he not life, being both made a Christian*, and baptized.

Thus hadst thou mercy, not upon him only, but upon us also; lest we remembering our selves of the humanity received from our friend, and we allowed so reckon him in the number of thy Flock, should be tortured with intolerable sorrow for him.

2. Thanks unto thee, O our God, we are now thine: Thy inspirations and consolations tell us so. Thou, O faithful promiser, shalt repay *Vincendum* for his Countrey house of *Cassiacum*, where from the troubles of the world we rested our selves in thee with the pleasantnesse of thy Paradise which is ever green: for that thou hast forgiven him his sinnes upon earth, in that mountain* of peace, thine own mountain, that fruitfull mountain.

* *Christianus & fidelis factus: and before, Nondum Christianus, non iure fidelis.* By this, appears the Primitive order, weake and call them Christians before they were baptized. And that what ever degree of faith they had, yet did they not become faithfull, till they were baptized. After which, though they proved *Evangelium*, to be possessed with a Devil, yet they were called them Faithfull. Nothing left them that name, till excommunication was.

* In monte Cassiato. In the Mountain, where *Cassia* or *Spices* grow. See Cant. B. 14. *Cassio* better answer *Cassio*, than *Incastato* does, which the printed Copies have.

Secundus therefore was much perplexed, but Augustinus was as joyfull as we. For although when he was not yet a Christian, he had fallen into the same pit of most pernicious error with us, believing the flesh of *thy Son* to be *hypocritical*; yet getting out from thence, he believed as we did; not yet carried into any Sacraments of *thy Church*, but most zealous searcher out of the truth. Whom not long after our conversion and regeneration by *thy Baptisme*, being also baptized in the Catholike Church, seeing thee in perfect chastity and continence amongst his own friends in *Africa*; having converted his whole family unto *Christianity*, and thou take out of the flesh; and now he lives in the bosome of *Abraham*.

1. Whatsoever that estate be, which is signified by that *bosome*, there lives *Nebridius* my sweet friend; *thy child*, O Lord, adopted of a freed-man, lives there. For what other place is there for such a soule? In that place he lives, concerning which is sometimes demanded of me unskillfull man, so many questions. Now layes he his care no longer upon my mouth; but layes his spiritual mouth upon *thy fountain*, and drinketh as much of *Wisdom* as he is able to contain, proportionable to his thirst: now without end happy. Nor do I yet think that he is so inebriated with it, as to forget me; seeing

Have the *Papists* Translators notes, that *Augustine* although he is dead, prayed for him. Is here any word of prayer? May we then demand in generall remembrance of, and what passed between us and them at the time of their death; and yet not pray for us? I answer, no for our selves and particular wants, and things since their death. The place better proves the Communion of Saints, than the Prayers of the Saints.

thou, O Lord, of whom he drinketh, art full
 mindfull of us. Thus rated it then without
 rowfull *Verendum* we comforted, reserving
 friendship entire notwithstanding our conversion,
 and exhorting him to continue in the fidelity of
 his degree, namely of his married estate. *Nelidum*
 we stayed for, expecting when he would follow,
 which being so near he might well do: and even
 now he was about to do it, when behold those days
 of *Interim* were at length come to an end. For
 long and many they seemed unto me, even for the
 love I bore to that easefull liberty, that we might
 sing unto thee out of all our bowels, *My heart has
 said unto thee, I have sought thy face, thy face Lord
 will I seek.* Psal. 27 8.

CHAP. IV.

What things he wrote with Nebridius.

NOW was the day come, wherein I was ad-
 vancedly to be discharged of my *Rectorial* Pro-
 fessorship, from which in my thoughts I was already
 discharged. And done it was. And thou deliver-
 edst my tongue whence thou hadst before deliver-
 ed my heart. And I blessed thee for it, rejoicing
 in my self; I and mine going all into the Coun-
 trey. What there in point of learning I did, (which
 was now wholly at thy service, though yet formerly
 paining, and out of breath as it were, in following
 the school of pride) my books may witness, both

** He means, that though he wrote of Divinity, yet could he
 not so soon wear his Stole, from Ink borne Terms, and of the
 duties of Ordinary, For which he also complains of Abbot*
and by.

thou

those which I disputed with my friends present and
those which I disputed alone with my self, before
thee: and what intercourse I had with my *brothers*
now absent, my *Epistles* can testify. And when
shall I have time enough to make rehearsal of all
the great benefits which thou at that time bestow-
est upon me: especially seeing I am now making
haste to tell of greater matters? For my remem-
brance now calls upon me, and most pleasant it is
to me: O Lord, to confesse unto thee, by what in-
ward prongs thou hast thus tamed me; and how
thou hast taken me down, by *bringing low those*
mountains and hills of my high imaginations, and
made my crookednesse straight, and my rough wayes
smooth. And by what means thou also subduedst
that brother of my love, *Alipius*, unto the name of
thy onely begotten Sonne our Lord and Saviour
Jesus Christ, which he at first would not vouchsafe
to have it put into our writings. For, rather would
he have had them savour of the lofty Cedars of the
Schools, which the Lord had now broken down;
than of those wholesome herbs of thy Church, which
are so powerfull against Serpents.

Oh what passionate voices sent I up unto thee
my God, when as I read the *Psalmes of David* (those
faithfull songs:) Oh what sounds of devotion,
quite excluding the swelling spirit of ostentation I
then (namely) I was yet but *Rude* in my

*Let this be the beginning of all Conversion, Gods baring a
man from his own fleshy wisdom, pride, and errors. Thus
John Bapt. first preached Christ, Luk. 3. 4.*

*Rude, was one of the Epistles of a Catechumenus. They
were also called Novices, New soldiers, Whelps of the
Church, &c.*

blindly loving of thee, as being but a *Confratrum* as yet in the *Confratrum*; whilst I had withdrawn my self, together with *aliquos* a *Confratrum* as thou and with my Mother likewise inseparably sitting untous; in a woman's habit verily, but with a masculine faith: void of worldly care; as a woman in her years should be, yet employed in a matron's charity, and a Christian piety. Oh, what passion expressible made I unto thee in the reading of these *Psalm*s! Oh, how was I inflamed towards thee by them! yea, I was on fire to have refounded them (had I been able) in the hearing of the whole world, to the shame of the pride of mankind; though verily they be already sung *all the world over*, nor can any *hills themselves* from thy heat, *Psalm* 119. 6. What what vehement and bitter sorrow was I angred at the *detraction* of whom yet again I pitied, for that they knew nothing of those *Sacraments*, those *ordinamenta*; and for that they were so mad at that *audite*, which had been able to recover them. I heartily wished they had been somewhere or other near me, (I not knowing that they did then hear me, or were then so near me) that they might have beheld my face, and heard my words, when I read the fourth *Psalm* in that time of my leasure, and how that *Psalm* wrought upon me.

1. When I called upon thee, thou heardest me, O God of my righteousness, thou hast enlarged me in my distress. Have mercy upon me, O Lord, and hear my prayer. That they might hear (I say) what I uttered at the reading of these words, I not knowing whether they heard me or no, lest they should think I spoke it purposely against them: Because

He expounds the 4. Psalm.

good

good truth; neither would I have spoken the same things; nor in the same manner, had I perceived them to have both heard and seen me. But had I spoken, yet would not they so have understood; but with my self, and to my self before thee, out of the familiar and ordinary affection of my soule, I quaked for fear, and boyled high again with hope, and with rejoycing in thy mercy, O Father. And all these expressions of my self, passed forth both by mine eyes and voice; at what time as thy good Spirit turning himself towards us, said, *O ye sonnes of men, how long will ye be * dull of heart? how long will ye love vanity, and seek after leasing? ver. 2.* But I my selfe had sometimes loved vanity, and sought after leasing: But thou, O Lord, hast magnified him that is godly, ver. 13. raising him from the dead, and placing him at thy Right hand, whence from on high he should send his promise, the * Comforter the Spirit of truth. And he had sent him already, but I knew it not.

4. He had already sent him; because he was now exalted by rising from the dead, and ascending into heaven. For till then, *The Holy Ghost was not given, because Jesus was not yet glorified.* And the Prophet cries out, *How long, O ye slow of heart? why will ye love vanity and seek after leasing? Know this, that the Lord hath set apart his Holy one.* He cries out; *How long;* He cries out, *Know this:* whereas I so long ignorant, have loved vanity, and sought after leasing: yea, I both heard and trembled, because it

* *Quisque graves corde?* These words be not now adagies as they be in the Heb. & Vulg. yet are they in Nazianzen his 10. Orat.
* The Manicheans acknowledged not the Holy Ghost, but held Monichus to be the Paraclete and Comforter.

was spoken unto such, as I remembred my self sometimes to have been. For verily in those *Pharisaical fictions* which I once held for truths, was there both *vanity and leasing*: wherefore I roamed out many things sorrowfully and strangely, which I grieved at what I now remembred. All which I wish they had heard, who yet *love vanity and seek after leasing*: They would perchance have been troubled, and have vomited up their poyson; and so *Thou mightest have heard them, when they cryed unto thee*: for he dyed a true death, in the flesh for us, who now maketh intercession unto thee for us. I further read, *Be angry,* and sinne not*. And how was I moved, O my God, I who had then learned to be angry at my self for things passed, that I might not sinne in time to come? Yea, to be justly angry, for that it was not any other nature of a different kind of darknesse without me, which sinned: as the *Manichees* affirme it to be, who are not angry at themselves; and *who treasure up wrath against the day of wrath, and of the revelation of the just judgment of God*, Rom 2. 5. Nor indeed was my God without me, nor to be caught with the eyes of

* This also differs from the Hebrew. It seems to be according to the 70. seeing 'tis cited Eph 4. 26. There were infinite Latin Translations of old, especially of the Psalter, till S. Hieronims time. The Romanes used that of his, translated out of the 70. which from them was called Romana: the French and Germanes used that which he corrected by the 70. which Gregory the Tutorius brought into France. This was called Gallicana. The Church of Millane used S. Ambroses Translation. See Rish. Targum. Prolog. 3. The Church hath still used a Translation of the Psalter differing from the Bible, and so now do we.

lesh under the Sun : seeing they that will take
my in any thing without themselves, do easily
become vain, and spill themselves upon those
things which are seen, and are but temporall ;
yea and with their hunger-starved thoughts lick
their very shadowes. And, oh that they were once
wearied out with their hunger, and come once
to say, *who will shew us any good?* Psal. 4. v. 6.
Let us say so, and let them heare, *The light of*
thy countenance is lifted up upon us. ibid.
For we our selves are not that light which en-
lighteneth every man that cometh into the world,
Job. 1. 9. but we are enlightened by thee ; as who
having been sometimes darknesse, may now be light in
thee. Eph. 5. 8.

5. Oh that they might once see that Eternall
Light ; which for that my self had once tasted,
gnashed my teeth at them, because I was not
able to make them see it : no, not though they
should bring me their heart in their very eyes,
(which are ever roaving from thee) that so they
might say, *who will shew us any good?* Psal. 4. v. 6.
But there, even there was I angry with my selfe
in my chamber : being inwardly pricked there ;
offering my sacrifice there also, ver. 9. my old man,
and the meditation of my newnesse of life now be-
gun in me : putting my trust in thee. There be-
gannest thou to grow sweet unto mee, and to
me gladnesse in my heart, (ver. 9.) And I
cryed out as I read this outwardly, finding
this gladnesse inwardly. Nor would I be any
more increased with worldly goods : wasting
away my time, and being wasted by these
temporall things ; whereas I had in thy eter-

eternal felicity, & sat and sp. of eternal life
and joy.

6. And with a loud cry of my heart called J on
to the everlast. O in pain, O for that pain
O what felicity I wish to be done and joy, work
for who shall hinder us, when to that saying shall
be brought to pass which is written, Death is swallowed
up in victory? 1 Cor. 15. 54. And thou sur-
passing by art that that that; thou who art un-
changed, and in thee is that that which forgets
it was known; nor is there any other besides thee
any one that thou appointed me to seek after thou
many other things, which are not the same the
now art: but thou Lord, after a speciall manner
hast made me dwell in hope.

These things I read and burnt again; nor could
I tell what to say to those deaf and dead Manichees,
of whom my self was sometimes a pestilent member
a sharer and a blind bawler against thy Scrip-
tures, all bewyned over with the hony of heaven
and all lightsome with thine own light: yes,
consumed away with deale at the enemies of the
Scriptures, when as I called to mind every thing
that I had done, in those dayes of my retire-
ment.

7. Not have I yet forgotten, neither will I poss
in silence, the smartnesse of thy scourge, and the
wonderfull swiftnesse of thy mercy. Thou didst in
those dayes torment me with the Tooth-ard; which
when it had grown so fierce upon me, that I was

A to safety. My own Copies now a dayes.

8. This is better language then the Papists use to give the holy
Scriptures. The Pope's Translations to avoid the commendation
and praise of the Bible.

not able to speak, it came into my heart to desire
my friends prefer to pray for me unto thee, the
God of all manner of health. And this I wrote in
verse, * and gave it to them to read. Immediately,
so soon as with an humble devotion we had bowed
our knees, that pain went away. But what pain
or how went it away? I was much afraid, O my
Lord, my God; seeing from mine infancy I had
never felt the like. And thou gavest me a power
here by this, how powerfull thy Beck was, for
which I much rejoycing in faith, gave praise unto
thy name. And that faith suffered me not to be se-
cure, in the remembrance of my forepassed sinnes,
which hitherto were not forgiven me by thy Bap-
tisme.

* Here my former Translator notes the old hand of writing in
Wax and in Dust. Wax I allow; the Ancients shewed us
how upon boards, and wrote with steel bodkins, by penks or
quills. But for dust, see our note upon lib. 4. cap. 12.

CHAP. V.

Ambrose directs him what Books to read.

1. **A**T the end of the vintage, I gave the Citi-
zens of Milan fair warning to provide their
Schollers of another Master to sell words to them;
for that I had made choice to serve thee; and for
that by reason of my difficulty of breathing, and
the pain in my breast, I was not able to go on in
the Professorship. And by letters signified to that
Bishop of thine, the holy man Ambrose, my former
errors and present resolution, desiring him to ad-
vise me what part of thy Scriptures were best for
my

my reading, to make me readier and faster for the receiving of so great a grace. He recommended *Esaïas* the Prophet to me: for this reason, I believe, for that he is a more cleare foreshewer of the Gospel, and of the calling of the Gentiles, then are the rest of the Prophets. But I, not understanding the first part of him, and imagining all the rest to be like that, laid it by, intending to fall to it again, when I were better practised in our *L O R D S* Scriptures.

CHAP. VI.

He is baptizd at Millane.

WHEN the time was come, wherein ^{*} I was to give in my name, we removed out of the Country unto *Millane*. *Alipius* also was for company resolved to be borne again in thee; as having by this time put on such humility, as is fitting for thy Sacraments; and being become so valiant a *lamer* of his own body, as even to weare the frosty earth of *Italy* with his bare feet,

^{*} They were baptizd at Easter, and gave up their names before the second Sunday in Lent: The rest of which, they were to spend in fasting, humility, prayer, and being examined in the Decretals. Tertul. lib. de Bapt. cap. 20. Therefore went they to Millane, that the Bishop might see their preparation. Adjoining to the Cathedrals, were there certain lower houses for them to lodge and be exercised in, till the day of Baptisme. Euseb. lib. 10. c. 4.

with an unusuall undertaking. We took along with us the boy *Adams*, carnally begotten by us in fornication. Thy part of him was well made up: for being now but almost fifteen years of age, he for wit excelled many a grave and learned man. I confesse unto thee thine own gifts; O Lord my God, Creator of all, who art abundantly able to reforme all our defects: but I had no part in this boy, but the sinne: for that thou brought him up in thy feare, 'twas thou, and none else, that inspired us. I confesse thine own gifts unto thee. There is a book of ours extant, called *The Masters: a Dialogue* it is betwixt him and me: God thou knowest, that all these conceits are his own, which go there under the name of him that discourses with me. When he was once sixteen years old, I had tryall of many more admirable abilities of his. His great wit strook a kind of horror into me. And who but thy selfe can be the workmaster of such wonders?

2. Soon didst thou take his life from off the earth: and so much the more securer do I now remember him, for that I feare nothing committed either in his Childhood or Youth, nor any thing at all in him. Him we took along to make as old as our selves in *grace*, and to be brought up according to thy discipline: and baptized we were together; instantly upon which, all anguish of minde for our former ill-led-life, vanished

* This is (I believe) the ancientest example of any good man that the bare footed Friars can produce, for this devout Will-worship. S. Austen did it not, but censured other bare footed Devotees for Heretick. Lib. de Heres. cap. 61.

away.

ed away. Nor could I be satisfied in those days, while with admirable sweetness I considered upon the deepness of thy counsells concerning the salvation of Mankind. How abundantly did I weep, to hear these *Hymns* and *Canticles* of thine, being touched so sorely quick by the voyces of thy sweet Church sing: The voyces flowed into mine eares, and thy Truth pleasingly distilled into my heart, which caused the affections of my devotion to overflow, and my teares to run over, and happy did I find my self therein.

CHAP. VII.

A Persecution in the Church miraculously diverted.

1. **N**OT long before had the Church of *Milane* began to celebrate this kind of consolation and exhortation, and that with the great delight of the *Brethren*, singing together both with voice and heart. For about a year it was, or not much above, that *Justina*, mother to the Emperour *Valentinian*, persecuted thy servant *Ambrose*, in favour of her heresie, to which she was seduced by the *Heretics*: The devout people watched day and night in the Church, ready to die with their *Bishop* thy servant: where my Mother thy handmaid, bearing a chief part of those troubles and watchings, even liv'd by prayer: yea we also, not yet untrodden by the heat of thy Spirit, were yet stirred up by

* It is probable it is, that the Te Deum was now made, by Ambrose, to direct a confession of the Trinity, approved by the Council. The Creed of thy ma-wife, believed so to be made by S. Ambrose & S. Austin.

the example of the amazed and disquieted City:
At this time was it first instituted after the
manner of the Eastern * Churches; that Hymns and
psalms should be sung, lest the people should
fall faint through the tediousness of Sorrow:
which custom being continued from that day to
this, is still imitated by divers, yea, almost by all
the Congregations, throughout other parts of the
world.

At this time didst thou by a vision discover
unto thy forenamed Bishop, the place where the
bodies of Gervasius and Prothasius the Martyrs did
lie hid (whom thou hadst in the Treasury of thy
secret, preserved uncorrupted so many years) from
whence thou mightst thus seasonably bring them
to light, to repress the fury of this woman the Em-
presse: for when as they were once discovered and
digged up, and with due honours translated to Au-
gustines Church; not onely they who were vexed
with unclean spirits (the devils confessing them-
selves so be so) were cured; but a certain man al-
so having been blind many years, (a well known
Citizen of that City) asking and hearing the rea-
son of the peoples confused joy; sprang forth, de-
siring his guide to lead him thither: and being
come to the place, requested the favor, that with his
handkerchief he might touch the *Beard* of thy Saints,
whose death is precious in thy sight. Psal. 116. 13.
Which when he had done, and put unto his eyes,
they were forthwith opened. Hereupon was the

* Ignatius, who lived An. Christi 100. was thus singing in
the Eastern Churches, Epist. ad Romanos. Quiro-men early
was to sing in the Church. Anno 364. Council. Laodic. Can. 15.

fame spread, hereupon were thy praises ^a zealously proclaimed to the view of the world, and hereupon was the mind of that enemy, though not brought to be healed by believing yet restrained ^b from busyness of persecuting. Thanks to thee, O my God, whence and whither hast thou thus led my remembrance, that I should also confesse these particulars unto thee; which (having forgotten other great matters) I had almost passed over. And yet even then, when at the odours of thy synthetics were so fragrant, did we not run after thee, Can. 12, 2, 3. and for this reason did I more abundantly weep at the singing of thy Hymns as having once sighed my self out of breath after thee; and now at last recovering somewhat of my wind again, as there can be freedom of aire afforded in this house of glasse.

^a The cure was ascribed to God, not to the Martyrs, as was in Popery.

^b Another means did God raise up; namely, our Countryman Maximian, who coming with his Army of Britains into Italy, made her flee to Thessalonica. See Zozumen lib. 7. c. 23. Nicet. 1. 12. c. 9.

^c *In domo fenest.* This he translates a Hay-loft.

CHAP. VIII.

The Conversion of Euodius. A discourse of his Mother.

1. **T**HOU that makest men of one mind to dwell in one house, diddest bring Euodius a young man of our own City, also to consort himself with

withdrew. Who being an *Officer of Court*, was converted unto thee and baptised; before us: and having quitted his *Colours* in secular warfare, had devoted himselfe to fight under thy banner. We kept company with one another, intending still to dwell together in our devout purpose; and seeking out now for some place where we might more conveniently serve thee in, we removed thereupon back again into *Affrica*: whitherward being on our way as far as *Osia*, my Mother departed this life. Many things do I overpasse, because I make haste. Receive my *Confessions* and *Thanksgivings*, O my God, for innumerable things which I am silent in. But omir I will not whatsoever my soule can bring forth concerning that *Handmaid* of thine, which brought forth me: both in her *fl.* that I might be borne to this temporall light; and in her heart too; that I might be borne again to the eternall Light, I will remember; not her gifts, but thine in her. For neither did she give birth nor education unto herself.

2. For thou createdst her, nor did her father and mother know what kinde of creature was to proceed out of their loines. And it was the *Secret* of thy Christ, the discipline of thine only Sonne, that educated her in thy feare. In a house of *Christians*, which was a good member of thy Church; Yet was shee wont not to much to

* These *Agentes in Rebus*, were of the Souldiery, out of which the Emperour chose some to serve his person in Court, and elsewhere. See our note upon cap. III. 6.

* The Port town neare to Rome, where they took ship for *Affrica*.

commend

to commend the bare diligence of her mother in her education, as the care of a certain decrepit Servant of hers, who had also carried her Father being a Child, as little ones use to be carried at the backs of bigger maid-servants. For which reason, and because she was well in years, and of excellent conversation, was she in that Christian family very well respected by her master and mistress: having thereupon the charge of her mistresses daughters committed unto her, which she with much diligence performed, being sharp to hold them in (when need so required) with a holy severity, and using a grave manner of discretion in teaching of them. For except at those houres where in they were most temperately fed at their parents table, would she not suffer them (were they never so thirsty) to drink so much as a draught of water, preventing thereby a naughty custome, and giving them this wholesome item withall; Go to, now you drink water, because you are not suffered to have wine: but when once you come to be married, and be made Mistresses of Buttries and Cellars, you will scorn water then, but the custome of drinking will prevail upon you.

¶ By this way of tutoring, and the authority she had in awing of them, did she moderate the longing of their tender ages, yea and brought the Girls thirst to so honest a moderation, as that now they would not of themselves take more liberty, then what was comely. But there stole for all this, (as thy handmaid told me her son) there stole upon her a lickorish inclination toward wine. For when

* Pick-pack according to the Country fashion perches, or for spurs sake.

in the manner was) she, being thought to be a
 her maiden, was bidden by her parents some-
 times to draw Wine out of the Hogs-head, she
 holding the * Pot under the Tap, would at the
 mouth of it, before she powred the Wine into the
 Hagon, wet her lips as it were with a little sippe
 for much would not her taste suffer her to
 sit in.

For she did not this out of any drunken desire,
 but upon such overflowing excesses as youth is
 subject unto, who boyle over with gamesomnesse:
 which in youthfull spirits is wont to be kept under
 by the gravity of their elders.

3. And thus unto that *Modicum* every day ad-
 ding a little more, (for *whoever contineth small
 things, shall fall by little and little, Eccles. 10. 1.*)
 fell she at last to get such a custome, that she would
 greedily take off her Cups brimme full almost of
 wine. Where was then that watchfull old woman,
 with all her earnest countermanding? Was any
 thing of force enough to prevaile against a secret
 disease, if thy physick, O Lord, did not watch over
 us? Her father, mother, and governours not be-
 ing by, thy self being at hand, who createdst, who
 calledst us, who also by means of these people that
 are set over us, workest something towards the sal-
 vation of our soules, what didst thou at that time,
 O my God? how didst thou cure her? which way
 didst thou heal her? didst thou not out of that other
 womans soul bring forth a hard and a sharp Check,
 as it were a Chirurgions knife out of thy secret

* I suppose the pot into which the wine was drawn from the
 tap, had a little spout by which it was powred into a handfull
 Hagon, which was to stand upon the livery-cupboard.

floure y and with one blow quite cut off that per-
fied custome of heis?

4. For that old Maid which she used to go
all into the celler, falling to words (as it happened
hand to hand with her little mistresse, hit her in
teeth in a most bitter insulting manner, calling
Wine bibber: With which taunt she being struck
to the quick, reflected upon the fowlnesse of her
fault, yea and instantly condemned it in her self
leaving it quite. "*Even as friends by flattering make*
us worse, so enemies oftentimes by reproaching
make us better: Yet shalt not thou render unto
them according to that which by them thou doest,
but according to that which themselves intended.
For she being in choler, had a desire rather to vex
her young mistresse, then to amend her; and there-
fore did she it thus privately: either for that the
opportunity of the time, and place of their trouble
found them thus alone; or else for fear her self
should have had anger, for discovering it too
sooner.

But thou, O Lord, the Governour both of hea-
venly and earthly things, who convertest to thine
own purposes the very depths of the running
streams; and disposdest of the troublesome revolu-
tions of all ages; didst by the fury of ene soule,
thus cure the ill custome of another: And that left
any man, when he observes this, should attribute
it unto his own power; if another man chance to
be reformed by a word of his, whom * he meant
indeed to have reformed.

* Ad cuppam, unto the Pye or Hogs-head.

* The former Translator is here bold to crosse the sense by put-
ting in of a Negative, whom he meant not to reform.

CHAP. IX.
A description of Monica's carriage towards her husband.
A description of a rare Wife.

Being thus modestly and soberly brought up, and made subject by thee rather to her parents, then by her parents unto thee; so soon as she proved marriageable, was she bestowed upon a Husband, whom she was as serviceable unto, as to her Lord: endeavouring thereby to winne him unto thee, preaching Thee unto him in her Conversation; by which Thee madest her to appeare beaurifull, and reverently amiable, yea and admirable unto her husband. For he so discreetly endured his wronging of her self, that she never had any jealous quarrell with her husband for that beaurifinesse. Because she still expected thy mercy upon him, that believing in thee, he might turne chaster.

And hee was besides this, as of a passing good nature, so also very hot and cholerike: But she knew well enough, That a Husband in choler is not to be contradicted; not in deed only, but not so much as in word. But so soon as he was growne calme and quieter, when she saw her opportunity, would she render him an account of her actions; if so be he had been offended upon too slight an occasion.

2. In

2. In a word, when as many matrones, who had much milder husbands, carried the marks of blows in their disfigured faces, would in the gossipings tell many a tale of their husbands manner of living; she as it were in jest, privately advised their too free tongues; *That from hence they first heard these Tables, which they call a memorial, as he first read unto them, they should account of them as evidences, whereby they should be made servants; and that therefore being always mindful of their own condition, they ought not to pride up themselves against their husbands.* And when as they admired (knowing what a choleric husband she endured) for that it had never been heard, nor by any token perceived, that *Parriclus* had once beaten his wife, or that there had been any one household-difference between them for so much as one day; and when as they familiarly asked the reason of it, she taught them the *Rule*, which I have before mentioned. Those wives who observ'd it, finding the good, gave her thanks for it; those that did not, were kept under and afflicted.

3. Her mother-in-law also, being at first incensed at her by the whisperings of naughty servants; she so far overcome by observance, persevered so long in patience and meekness, that she of her own accord discovered unto her sonne, the tales that the maid servants had carried between them, whereby

* *Table* is matrimonial. The *Augustine* provided the duties of the married, the *Jerome* deprecates, and marriage duties in public *Tables*, which were read (like our exhortations in the *Common-book* after marriage) openly on the day of marriage: for these see *Tertul.* lib. ad uxorem, c. 2.

the peace of the house had been disturbed, betwixt
 her and her daughter-in-law, requiring him to give
 an account for it. When he therefore, both
 out of obedience to his mother, and out of a care
 for the well-ordering of his family, and to provide
 shall for the concord of his people, had with
 him consulted the servants thus betrayed, ac-
 cording to the pleasure of her that had revealed it,
 he first also added this promise, that every one
 should look for the like reward at her hands, who-
 soever, to pick a thank by it, should speak any ill
 of her daughter-in-law: which now being so hardy
 afterwards as to do, they lived ever after with a
 most memorable sweetnesse of mutuall counselles.
 This great gift thou bestowedst also, O God my
 mercy, upon that good handmaid of thine, out of
 whose wombe thou broughtest me; namely, that
 she ever did (where she was able) carry her self so
 peacefully between any parties that were at differ-
 ence and discorded; as that after she had on both
 sides heard many a bitter word, (such as swelling
 and indigested choler uses to break forth into,
 when as unto a present friend, the ill brooke heart
 burning at an enemy, is with many a biting little-
 tongue breathed up again) she never for all that,
 would discover more of the one party unto the o-
 ther, then what might further their reconciliation.

4. This vertue might seem a small one unto me,
 if to my grief I had not had experience of innume-
 rable companies. (I know not by what horrible in-
 fectious of sinne spreading far and near) who used
 not only to discover the speeches of enemies agreed
 on both sides, to one another; but to adde withall
 some things that were never spoken: whereas on
 the

the contrary, it ought to be esteemed a mean to
 in a man, to forebear more to persecute and
 ill will amongst people by ill speaking, and the
 study will be to quench it by making use
 of every thing. And such a one was the wife
 being her own private Master, teaching her in a
 school of her heart. Finally, her own husband
 (now towards the latter end of his life) did she
 unto thee; having now no more cause to com-
 plain of those things in those things in which
 he was baptized, which she had formerly been
 which before he was converted.

Yes, she was also the servant of thy servants,
 and whosoever of them knew her, did both com-
 mend much of her, and honoured and loved Thee,
 for that they might well perceive thy selfe to be
 within the heart of her holy conversation, the fruit
 of being witness. For she had been The wife of
 a man, I know not, she had repayed his duty be-
 nough unto her parents; she had governed her
 house very religiously; for good works she had
 good report; she had brought up her children, so
 as they were in birth from again, Gal. 4. 19. as
 the Son whom shearing from thee.

Lastly, of all of us thy servants, O Lord, (whom
 for this favour received thou sufferedst thus to
 speak, we, who before her sleeping in thee lived in
 society together, having first received the grace of
 thy baptism, did she for take the care of, as if she
 had been the mother to us all; being withall so
 serviceable, as if she had been the daughter be-
 lievable.

CHAP.

CHAP. X.

A Conference had with his Mother, about the Kingdome of Heaven.

THe day now approaching that she was to depart this life, (which day thou well knowest, though we were not aware of) it fell out, thy self, as I believe, by thine own secret wayes considering it, that she and I should stand all alone together leaning in a certain window, which lookt into the garden of the house where we now lay at Pisa; where being sequestered from company after the wearisomnesse of a long journey, we were providing our selves for a sea voyage into our own country. There conferred we hand to hand very sweetly; and forgetting those things which are behind, we reached forth unto those things which are before, Phil. 3. 13. we did betwixt our selves seek at that Present Truth, (which thou art) in what manner the eternall life of the Saints was to be, which eye hath not seen, nor eare heard, nor hath it entred into the heart of man, Efar. 42. 4. But yet wee gaped with the mouth of our heart, after those upper streames of that Fountaine which is before thee; that being besprinkled with it according to our capacity; wee might in some sort meditate upon so high a mystery.

1. And when our discourse was once come unto that point, that the highest pleasure of the small
N fences,

sences, and that in the brightest beam of *corporeal* light, *luminelle*, was, in respect of the sweetnesse of that life, not onely not worthy of comparison, but not so much as of mention; we cheering up ourselves with a more burning affection towards that, did by degrees course over all these *corporeals*; that is to say, the heaven it self, from whence both Sun, and Moon, and Stars do shine upon this earth. yea, we soared higher yet, by inward musing, and discourse upon thee, and by admiring of thy works. And last of all, we came to our own souls which we presently went beyond; that we might advance as high as that Region of never-wasting plenty: where Thou feedest *Israel* for ever with the food of Truth, and where life is that *wisedom*e by which all these things are made, and which have been, and which are to come. And this *wisedom*e is not made; but it is at this present, as it hath ever been, and it shall it ever be: seeing that the *Terms*, to have been, and to be hereafter, are not at all in it, but so *now*, for that it is *eternal*. For to have been, and to be, is not *eternal*. And while we were thus discouraging and streining our selves after it, we arrived to a little touch of it with the whole stroke of our heart; and we sighed, and even there we left behind us the first fruits of our spirits enchained to it; returning from these thoughts, to vocal expressions of our mouth, where words are both begun and finished. And what can be like unto thy word, our Lord, who remains in himselfe for ever without becoming aged, and yet renewing all things?

3. We said therefore: If to any man the tumults of the flesh be silenced, let these fancies of the earth

and waters, and airc be silenced also: yea, let the Poles of heaven be silent also: let his own soule likewise keep silence; yea, let it surmount it self, not so much as thinking upon it self. Let all dreams and imaginary revelations be silenced; every tongue and every signe, and whatsoever is made by passing from one degree unto another, if unto any man it can be altogether silent: and that because if any man can hearken unto them, all these will say unto him, We created not our selves, but He that remains to all eternity. Thus much the creatures having uttered, if they be then silent, (as having tailed their attentions unto him that made them) then let him speak alone; not by them, but by himself, that we may hear his own Word; not pronounced by any tongue of flesh, nor by the voyce of the Angels, nor by the sound of thunder, nor in the dark riddle of a resemblance; but him whom we love in these creatures; let us hear without the ministry of these creatures; like as we now strained up our selves unto it, and in a ravishing contemplation arrived unto a touch of that eternal wisdom, which is over all. Should this exaltation of spirit have ever continued, and all other visions of a far inferior alloy been quite taken away, and that this one exaltation should ravish us, and swallow us up, and so wrap up their beholder among these more inward joyes, as that his life might be for ever like to this very moment of understanding which we now sighed after; were not

He means, that whosoever hath once overcome his own lusts, should no more speak of, or listen after any thing but God. The same Translator makes olde sense of it.

this as much, as Enter into thy Masters joy? Mat.
24.37. when shall that be? Shall it be when we
shall all rise again, though all shall not be changed?
2 Cor. 15. 51. I shall see thee to become a Christian
Catholic before I died. My God hath done
this for me more abundantly; for that I now see
thee withall, having contemned all earthly
pleasures, to be made his servant: what then do I
here any longer?

CHAP. XI.

Of the extasie and death of his Mother.

1. **W**Hat answer I then made her unto these
things, I do not now remember: but in
the meantime (scarcely five dayes after, or not much
more) she fell into a Fever; and in that sickness
one day she fell into a swoond, being for a while
taken from her senses. We ran to her; but she
quickly came to her self again; and looking wistly
upon me and my brother standing by her, said

unto us in manner of a question; *where was I?*
 And fixing her eys upon us, all with grief amazed;
Here, saith she, shall you bury your Mother. I held
 my peace and restrained weeping: but my brother
 spake something to her, insinuating his desire to
 have her dye, not in a strange place, but in her own
 Country, as being the happier. At hearing of
 which, she with an offended countenance, check-
 ing him with her eyes, for that he had not yet lost
 the relish of these earthly thoughts: and then
 looking upon me; Behold! (quoth she) what he
 saith: And soon after, to us both, Lay (saith she)
 this body any where; let not the care for that dis-
 quiet you: this onely I request, That you would
 remember me at the Domini's Altar, where-
 ever you be.

9: And when she had delivered this her opinion
 in words as well as she could, she held her peace,
 her sicknesse growing more strong upon her. But
 I, considering with my self thy gifts; O Thou my
 invincible God; which thou insillest into the
 hearts of thy faithfull ones; from whence such
 admirable fruits do spring forth, did greatly re-
 joyce and give thanks unto thee, calling now to
 mind, what I before knew, with how much careful-
 nesse (namely) concerning her place of buriall
 she had alwayes troubled her self; which she had
 appointed and prepared by the body of her Hus-
 band. For because they two had lived so lovingly
 together, her earnest desire had still been (as hu-
 mane nature is lesse capeable of divine considerati-

* Here the Papist Translator notes, That she desired to be
 prayed for. Not so; but what remembering as the Altar means,
 see our Preface.

to make this addition unto that happinesse, and to have it talkt of by the people; That God had granted unto her; after so long a pilgrimage beyond the seas, to have now at last in her native country, both the bodies of man and wife covered with the same earth.

But when this empty conceit began by the fullnesse of thy goodnesse to be thrust out of her heart, I knew not but I joyed with much admiration, that I now so plainly saw it, to have done so; though indeed in that speech which we had in the window, whenas she said, *What do I here any longer?* she made shew of no desire of dying in her own country. I heard afterwards also, that in the time we were at Ostia, how with a matronely confidence she discoursed with certain of my friends when I was absent, about the contempt of this life, and of the benefit of death, they being much astonished at the courage of the woman, which thou hadst given her; withall demanding of her, Whether she were not afraid to leave her body so far from her own City? Unto which she replied, *Nothing is far from God; nor was it to be feared lest He should not know at the end of the world, the place whence he were to raise me up.* In the ninth day therefore of her sicknesse, and the fixe and fiftieth yeare of her age, and the three and thirtieth of mine, was that religious and holy Soule discharged from the prison of her body.

CHAP. XII.

He laments his Mothers death.

I Closed her eyes; and there flowed withall
 unspeakable sorrow into my heart; which
 overflowed into teares: mine eyes at the same time
 by the violent command of my mind; pump their
 Well dry, and woe was me in that same agony.
 So soon as she had breathed out her last spirit, the
 boy *Adelphus* brake out into a loud lamentation
 till being pressed by us all; he hold his peace. In
 like manner also that childish passion of mine own,
 which slipt from me in teares, being restrained by
 the manly voice of my heart, was at last silenced.
 For, sitting* we did not think it, to solemnize that
 funerall with lamentations, teares and howlings:
 for that this is the fashion whereby those that die
 miserably, or be utterly perished as it were, used to
 be lamented: whereas she did neither die in any
 miserable condition, nor indeed dyed she utterly.
 For thus much were we assured of by the experi-
 ence of her good conversation, her faith unsained,
 and other most certain arguments.

2. What wight that be therefore which did thus
 grievously pain me within; but a wound newly
 taken, by having that most sweet and dear custom
 of living with her; thus suddenly broken off: &
 much rejoyce to receive that testimony from her;
 whereby in the latter end of her sicknesse; upon

* This suite was *S. Gregory Nazianzens* opinion, *Orat. 28.*
pro Gorgonia, and also *Orat. 30. in funere Cesarii. Lacrymas*
& philosophia superatis psalmodiis lacrymas sedantibus.

my performance of all respectfull dutifulnesse to her, she ever and anon speaking most kindly to me, call'd me a dutifull Child, (*Pium*) remembring with great affection of love, how that she never heard any harsh word or reproachfull tearme to come out of my mouth against her. But for all this, O my God, that madest us both, what comparison is there betwixt that honour that I perform to her, and that carefull painfulnesse of hers to me? Because therefore I was left thus destitute of the greatest comfort, was my very soule wounded, yea and my life torne in peeces, as it were: which had been made one, out of hers and mine together.

That boy now being stilled from weeping, *Eudoxus* took up the *Psalter*, and began to sing, (the whole house answering him) the 101. *Psalme*, *I will sing of mercy and judgement unto thee, O Lord.* But when it was once heard what we were a doing, there came together very many Brethren and religious women: and whilest they (whose office it was) were, as the manner is, taking order for the buriall, my self in a part of the house (where most conveniently I could, together with those who

* If you please they continued to the end of Psalm 102. This was the same mode fashion: Nazianzen says, that his speechlesse Sister, *Gerogonia*'s lips muttered the fourth Psalm; I will lie down in peace and sleep. As *S. Austen* lay a dying, the company present, *Pollid*. That they had prayers between the departure and the buriall, see Tertul. l. de Anima, c. 51. They used to sing both at the departure and buriall. Nazianzen, orat. 10. says, The dead *Catachus* was carried from hymnes to hymnes. The Priests were called to sing. Chrysost. Hom. 70. ad Antioch. They sung the 116. Psalm usually. See Chrys. Hom. 4. in cap. 2. ad Hebræos.

though it not fit to leave me) discomfited upon something which I thought fittest for the time: by applying of which plaster of truth, did I allwaye that inward torment, known only unto thy self, though I not by them perceived; who very abruptly listening unto me, conceived me to be without all sense of sorrow. But in thy eates; where none of them overheard me, did I blame the weakness of my passion, and refrain my flood of grieving: which giving way a little unto me, did for all that break forth with its wonted violence upon me, though not so far as to burst out into tears; nor to any great change of countenance; yet know I well enough what I kept down in my heart. And for that it very much offended me, that these humane respects had such power over me, (which must in their due order, and out of the frailty of ourall condition, of necessity come to passe) I modelled mine own sorrow with a new grieving, being by this means afflicted with a double sorrow. And behold, when as the Corps was carried to the Buriall, we both went and returned without tears. For neither in those Prayers which were poured forth unto Thee, when as the Sacrifice of our * Redemption was offered up unto Thee for her,

* Here my Popish Translator saies, that the Sacrifice of the Masse was offered for the dead. That the Ancients had Communion with their burials, I confesse. But for what? 1. To testify their dying in the communion of the Church. 2. To give thanks for their departure. 3. To pray God to give them place in his Paradise. 4. And a passage to his resurrection: But not as a propitiatory Sacrifice to deliver them out of Purgatory, which the Masse is now only meant for. See our Preface.

the Corps standing by the Graves side, before
 was put into the ground: (as the manner there is)
 did I so much as that I told all the Prayers
 which I could possibly say in secret, and with
 troubled mind did I beg of thee (O well be I could)
 that thou wouldst mitigate my sorrow, which for
 all that, thou didst not: recommending, I be-
 lieve, unto my memory by this one experiment,
 That the too strict bond of all humane conversation
 is much prejudiciall unto that Soule, which now
 speak upon thy not deceiving Word: It would,
 I thought, do me some good, to go and bathe my
 face, and that because I had heard the Herbs to take
 in some from the Greeks calling of it *Benassion*,
 for that it drives shame out of the mind: And
 thus I also confesse unto thy mercy, O Father of the
 Fatherlesse; because that after I had bathed, I was
 the same man I was before, and that the bitter-
 ness of my sorrow could not be sweeter out of my
 heart, although I did wash my face with the good
 oil: I fell to sleep upon it; and upon my waking,
 I found my grief to be not a little abated: Where-
 upon lying in my bed alone, there came to my
 mind those true vessels of thy *Ambrosie*. For thou
 art the

God that all things doest create,
 who know'st the Heavens to moderate,
 and cleav'st the day with beauteous light,
 with benesse of sleep the night,
 which may our weaknesd sinnes make
 able unto paines to undertake,
 and all our tyred minds well ease,
 and our distempred griefs appease.

And

And then again by little and little as feelingly before, calling to minde *thy handmaid*, her devout and holy conversation towards *Thee*, her dealing and most observant behaviour towards *me*, which too suddenly I was now deprived: it gave me some content to weep in thy sight; both concerning her, and for her; concerning my self, and for my self. And I gave way to these teares which I before restrained, to overflow as much as they desired; laying them for a pillow under my heart, and resting my self upon them: for there were thy cares, and not the cares of man, who would have scornfully interpreted this my weeping. But now in writing I confesse it unto thee, O Lord, read it, who will; and interpret it, how he will: and if he findes me to have offended in be-ailing my mother so small a portion of an houre, that mother I say now dead and departed from mine eyes, who had so many years wept for me, that might live in thine eyes) let him not deride me; but if he be a man of any great charity, let him rather weep for my finnes unto *Thee*, the Father of all brethren of thy *Christ*.

CHAP. XIII.

He prayeth for his dead Mother.

BUt my heart now cured of that wound, (for which it might be blamed for a carnal kind of affection) I poure out unto *Thee*, O our God, in behalf of that handmaid of thine, a far different kind of teares; such as flowed from a broken spirit, out of a serious consideration of the danger of every soule that dyeth in *Adam*. And notwithstanding she

she for her part being *quickened in Christ*, even before her dissolution from the flesh, had so lived that there is cause to praise thy name, both for her faith and conversation; yet dare I not say for all this, that from the time of thy regenerating her by baptism, there issued not from her mouth any one word or other, against thy Commandement. Thy *Sonne* who is *Truth* hath pronounced it, *whoever shall say unto his brother, thou fool, shall be in danger of Hell fire*, Mar. 5. 22. In so much as we be unto the most commendable life of men, if laying aside thy mercy, thou shouldst rigorously examine it. But because thou too narrowly inquirest not after sinnes, we assuredly hope to find some place of pardon with thee. But whosoever stands to reckon up his owne *merits* unto Thee, what reckons he up unto thee, but a thing own gitt? O that men would know themselvs to be but men; & that he that glorieth, would glory in the Lord.

2. I therefore O my praise and my life, thou God of my heart, laying aside for a while her good deeds, for which with rejoycing I give thanks unto thee, do now^d beseech thee for the sins of my mother. Harken unto me by him I intreat thee, that is the true medicine of our wounds, who hung upon the Tree, and now sitting at thy right hand maketh^e intercession for us. I know that she hath dealt mercifully, and to have from her very heart

^d *Elabar Heaven or Purgatory* notes my Papist: Is not Purgatory well prov'd from hence?

^e *Here he notes, We grow to have merits by the gift of God. A meer contradiction: for if merits, what need gifts and if gifts, then renounce merits.* See Rom. 3. 27, 28.

^f See forward.

forgives

c Saint *Austen* would have been put in the *Inquisition* for this, what I leave out the *Virgin Mary* and the *Saints*. This is no *Roman Catholic*.

for given, that that was passed by, and also
 for given for the sake of what ever she had drawn up
 on her self, for many year, since her cleansing by
 the water of baptism, forgive her, Lord; forgive
 her I beseech thee; enter not into judgement with
 her, but let thy mercy be exalted above thy justice,
 and that because thy words are true, and thou hast
 promised mercy unto the mercifull, which that Peo-
 ple might be, is thy gift to them, who wilt have
 mercy on whom thou wilt have mercy; Rom. 9. 18.
 and wilt shew deeds of mercy, unto whom thou hast
 been mercifull inclined. And I now beleve that
 thou hast already done what I request of thee; but
 take in good part, O Lord, these voluntary peti-
 tions of my mouth.

3. For she, the day of her dissolution being at
 hand, took no thought to have her body sumptu-
 ously wound up, or embalmed with spices; nor
 was she ambitious of any choice monument, or
 cared to be buried in her own Countrey. These
 things she gave us no command for; but de-
 sired only to have her name commemorated
 at thy Altar, which she had served with-
 out intermission of one day; from whence

c Here he discovers the opinion of the Church; none of
 the Fathers prayed for the dead so much as *Austen* did, nor
 would he (perchance) have so earnestly prayed for any but for
 his mother. *Papists* beleve that the dead are yet in purgatory
 their sins yet unpardoned, Saint *Austen* beleve is different.
 d Prayers for the dead then, is but *Will-worship*, grounded
 upon no Command, confirmed by no Promise; all voluntary.
 Not so much as a *Council* for it. Why is it urged?
 See the Preface.

the

he knew that holy Sacrifice to be dispensed, by which that *Hand-writing that was against us*, is blotted out; through which Sacrifice the Enemy was triumphed over; he, who summing up our offences, and seeking for something to lay to our charge; found nothing in *him*; in whom we are conquerours. Who shall restore unto him his innocent blood? Who shall repay him the price with which he bought us, and so be able to take us out of his hands? Unto the Sacrament of which price of our redemption, this handmaid of thine had bound her own soul, by the bond of faith.

Let none pluck her away from thy protection: let neither the *Lion* nor the *Dragon* interpose himself by force or fraud. For she will not answer *that she owes nothing*, lest she be disproved and gotten the better of, by her crafty accuser: but she will answer, how that her sins are forgiven her by him, unto whom none is able to repay that price, which he laid down for us, who owed nothing. "Let her rest therefore in peace together with her husband, before, or after whom, she had never any: whom she obeyed; through patience bringing forth fruit unto thee; that she might winne him unto thee. And inspire, O Lord my God, Inspire thy servant, my brethren, thy sonnes, my masters (whom with voice, and heart, and pen I serve) that so many of them as shall read *these Confessions*, may at thy

* *Altho* the *Lord* does Prayer for the dead had still *exceptions* before to it. & Cyril Catechiz. I know many will ask what good it doth it to Soules? And they ever joynd *Alms* to their Prayers. While thou honour the dead? Do alms-deeds to the poor for them. *Chrysost. Hom. 61. in Joan.* But the Priest that says the *Prayer*, &c. had *not* added the poor of that.

Altar

Altar * remember *Monica* thy handmaid, together
 with *Perpetua* her daughter's husband, by whose
 bodies thou broughtest me into this life, though
 how I know not. May they with devout affection
 be mindfull of these Parents of mine in this transi-
 tory light, and of my Brethren that are under thee
 our Father in our *Catholic Mother*: and of those
 who are to be my fellow Citizens in that eternall
Ierusalem, which day people here in their pilgrimage
 so sigh after even from their birth, unto their re-
 turn thither. That so, what my Mother in her last
 words desired of me, may the more plentifully be
 performed for her in the prayers of many, as well
 by means of my *Confessions*, as of my prayers.

* He desired not to have her prayed for, but commemorated
 at the Altar. Himself in his *Enchiridion* cap. 10. saith, that
 such a one was very good (and so he thought his Mother) desired
 his Thanksgiving at the Altar for them. To this that was very
 full, and his Prayer, Sacrifice, but Alms could do good.



SAINT

SAINT AUGUSTINE'S

Confessions.

The Tenth Book.

CHAP. I.

The Confessions of the Heart.

I Et me know *Thou*, O LORD, who knowest me: let me know *thee*, as I am known of *thee*, 1 Cor. 13. 12. O *thou* the vertue of my soule, make *thy* entrance into it, and so fit it for *thy* self, that *thou* mayest have and hold it without spot or wrinkle, Eph. 1. 4. This is my hope, and therefore do I now speak, and in this hope do I rejoyce, when at all I rejoyce. As for other things of this life, they deserve so much the lesse to be lamented, by how much the more we do lament them: and again, so much the more to be lamented, by how much the lesse we do lament them. For behold, *thou* hast loved *truth*, and he that does so, commeth to the light. This will I publish before *thee* in the confession of my heart; and in my writing, before many witnesses.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

Secret things are known to GOD.

AND from thee, O Lord, unto whose eyes the bottome of mans Conscience is laid bare, what can be hidden in me though I would not *confesse* it? For so should I hide thee from me, not my self from thee. But now, for that my groaning is witness for me, that I am displeased with my self: thou shinnest out unto me, and art pleasing to me, yea desired; and beloved of me: and I will be ashamed of my self, yea I will renounce mine own self, and make choice of thee; and never may I please thee, nor my self, but in thee.

Unto thee therefore, O Lord, am I laid open, what ever I am, and with what fruit I may *Confesse* unto thee, I have before spoken. Nor do I it with words and speeches of the body, but with the expressions of my very soul, with the cry of my thoughts which thy eare onely understandeth. For when I am wicked, then to *confesse* unto thee, is no other thing but to displease my self: but when I am well given, to *confesse* unto thee, is then no other thing but not to attribute this goodnesse unto my self: because it is thou, O Lord, that bledest the just, but first thou justifiest him being wicked. My *Confession* therefore, O my God, in thy sight, is made unto thee privately, and yet not privately: for in respect of noise, it is silent, but yet it cries aloud in respect of my affection. For neither do I utter any thing that is right unto men, which thy self hath not before heard from me: nor canst thou heare any such thing from me, which thy self hath not first said unto me.

CHAP.

CHAP. I.

The Confession of our ill deeds, what it begets

WHAT therefore have I to do with men, that they should hear my Confession, as if they could cure all my infirmities? A curious People to pry into another mans life, but full enough to amend their own. Why do they desire to hear from me what I am; who will not hear from thee what themselves are? And how know they, whenas they hear my self confessing of my self, whether I say true or no; seeing *none know what is in man, but the spirit of man which is in him* 1 Cor. 2. 11. But if they hear from thee any thing concerning themselves, they cannot say *The Lord lieth*. For what else is it from thee to hear of themselves, but to know themselves? and who is he that knowing himself can say, *It is false*, unless *he himself lies*? But because *Charity beleeueth all things* (that is to say, amongst those whom by knitting unto it self it maketh one) I therefore O Lord, do so also confess unto thee, as that men may hear: to whom though I be not able to demonstrate whether I confesse truly; yet give they credit unto me, whose *mercy charity hath set open* unto me.

But de thou, O my most private Physician, make apparent unto me, what fruit I may reap by doing it. For the *Confessions* of my passed sin (which thou hast forgiven and covered, that thou mightest make me happy in thee, in changing my life by thy Faith and Sacrament) whenas they are read and heard, they stirre up the heart that

may not sleep in despair, and say I cannot; but keep it self wakefull in the love of thy mercy, and the sweetnesse of thy grace; by which any weak person is made strong, who is by it made guilty of himselfe of his own infirmities. As for these that are good, they take delight to hear of their passed sins, (those I mean, that are now freed from sin) yet are they not therefore delighted, because they are errors; but for that they having forgiven, are not sorrow.

With what fruit O Lord my God, to whom my conscience, (more secure upon the hope of thy mercy, then in her own innocency) maketh her daily Confession, with what fruit I beseech thee, O I by this Book, before *thee* also *confesse* unto thee, what at this time I yet am, nor what I have been? For as for that fruit, I have both seen and taken of it: but as for what I now am, behold, it is every one of the making of these *Confessions*, which People both desired to know it: both they that personally knew me, & those also that did not; they that heard any thing either from me or of me: for their eare over-hears not my heart, where ever of whatever I be; they are desirous therefore to hear me confesse what I am within; whether their eye, nor eare, nor understanding is able to dive; yet do they desire it, though they be not able to believe me, nor able to know me, because that *Charity* (by which they are made good) says unto them, that I would never bely my self in my *Confessions*. And tis that *Charity* in them, which gives credit to me.

CHAP. IV.

Of the great fruit of Confession.

1. **B**UT to what end would they heere this? If they desire to congratulate with me, when as they shall hear how neer (by thy grace) I am now come unto thee; and to pray for me, when shall they once hear how much I am cast down by mine own heavinesse? To such will I discover my self: for it is no mean fruit. O Lord my God, to cause many to give thanks unto thee, and be interested for us, by many. Let the friendly mind of my brethren love that in me, which thou teachest is to be loved: and lament in me, what thou teachest is to be lamented: Let it be the mind of my brethren, not that of the stranger; not that of the *strange children, whose mouth telleth of vanity, and their right hand is a right hand of iniquity,* Psal. 14. 4. but that of my brethren; who when they approve of me, do also rejoyce for me; and when they disallow me, are sorry for me: because whether they allow, or disallow me, yet still they love me. To such will I discover my self: they will have a respect to my good deeds, and sigh for my ill. My good deeds are thine appointments, and thy gifts: my evil ones, are my own faults, and thy judgments. Let them receive comfort by the one, and sigh at the other: let now both thy giving and bewailing ascend up into thy sight, out of the hearts of my brethren, which are thy *count*

* *What's be Merits then? This is right Protestant*

2. And when thou, O Lord, art once delighted with the incense of thy holy Temple, have mercy upon me according to thy great mercy for thine own names sake; Psal. 71. 1. and at no hand giving over what thou hast begun in me, finish up what is imperfect. This is the fruit of my *Confessions*; not of what I have been, but of what I am: namely to confesse this not before thee only, in a secret rejoicing mixed with trembling: and in a private sorrowfulness, allayed with hope: but in the ears also of the beleeving sons of men, sharers of my joy, and partners in mortality with me; my fellow Citizens, and fellow Pilgrimes: both those that are gone before, and those that are to follow after me, & those that accompany me along in this life.

3. These are thy servants, my brethren; those whom thou willest to be thy sons, my masters; whom thou commandedst me to serve, if I would live with thee. But this thy saying were to little purpose, did it give the command only by speaking, and not go before me in performing. This therefore I now do both in deed and word, this I do under thy wings: and that with too much danger, were not my soule sheltered under thy wings, and my infirmity known unto thee. I am but a little one: but my Father liveth for ever, and my Protector is fit for me. For tis the very same he that begat me, and that defends me: for thou thy self art all my goods: even thou, O Omnipotent, who art present with me, and that before I am come unto thee. To such therefore will I discover my selfe, whom thou commandedst me to serve: not discovering what I have been, but what I now am, and what I am yet.

But I will not judge my self, 1 Cor. 4. 3. Thus therefore let me be heard.

CHAP. V.

That man knoweth not himselfe directly: and knowes not God but in a glasse darkly.

1. **B**ut thou, O Lord, dost judge me: because that although No man knowes the things of a man, but the spirit of a man which is in him, 1 Cor. 2. 11. Yet is there something of man, which the very spirit of man that is in him, knoweth not. But thou knowest all of him, who hast made him. As for me, though in thy sight I despise my self, accounting my self but dust and ashes; yet know I something of thee, which I know not of my self. For surely, now we see through a glasse darkly, not face to face as yet, 1 Cor. 13. 12. So long therefore as I be absent from thee, 2 Cor. 5. 6. I am nearer unto my self then unto thee; and yet know I thee not possible to be any wayes violated: whereas for my self, I neither know what temptations I am able to resist, or what I am not.

2. But there is hope, because thou art faithful, who wilt not suffer us to be tempted above that we are able; but wilt with the temptation also make a way to escape, that we may be able to beare it, 1 Cor. 10. 3. I will confesse therefore; what I know by my self, I will confesse, yea and what I know not. And that because what I do know by my self, by thy shewing it me, I come to know it: and what I know not by my self, I am so long ignorant of, untill my darknesse be made as the Noon day in thy sight. Psal. 139. 2.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

What God is, and how I love him.

1. **N**Ot out of a doubtfull, but with a certain
^aConscience, do I love thee O Lord: Thou
 hast stricken my heart with thy word; and there-
 upon I loved thee. Yea also the heaven, and the
 earth, and all that is in them, behold, they bid me
 on every side, that I should love thee; not craue
 they to say so unto all, to make them inexcusable.
 But more profoundly wilt thou have mercy on whom
 thou wilt have mercy; Rom. 9. 15. and wilt have
 compassion upon whom thou wilt have compassion:
 for else do the heaven and the earth speak for thy
 praises unto the deaf. What now do I love, when
 as I love thee? not the beauty of any *corporall*
 thing, nor the order of times, nor the bright masse
 of the *light*, which to behold is so glad to our
 eyes; nor the pleasant *melodies* of songs of all kinds,
 nor the fragrant smell of flowers, and oymenches,
 and spices; nor *Manna* and honey, nor any fair
Limbs that are so acceptable to fleshly embrace-
 ments.

2. I love none of these things, when as I love
 my God: and yet I love a certain kind of *light*,
 and a kind of *voyce*, and a kind of *fragrancy*, and a
 kind of *meat*, and a kind of *embracement*, wherein
 I love my God: who is both the *light*, and the
voyce, and the sweet *smell*, and the *meat*,
 and the *embracement* of my inner man: where
 that *light* shineth unto my soule, which no place

^a Here hath the former Translator neglected this, of Conscience.
^b Here sett he downe the Objects and pleasures of the five
 Sences. can

can receive; that voyce soundeth, which time deprives me not of; and that fragrant smell which no wind scatters; and that meate tasteth, which eating devoures not; and that embracement clingeth to me, which satiety divorceth not.

This is it which I love, when as I love my God. And what is this? I askt the *Earth*, and that answered me, *I am not it*; and whatsoever are in it, made the same confession. I asked the *Sea* and the *deeper*, and the *creeping things*, and they answered me, *We are not thy God, seeke above us*. I asked the *fleeing winds*; and the whole *Ayre* with his *inhabitants* answered me, *That Anaximenes was deceived, I am not thy God*. I asked the heavens, the *Sunne* and the *Moon*, and *Stars*. Nor (say they) are we the *God* whom thou seekest.

3. And I replied unto all these, which stand round about these dores of my flesh; You have answered me concerning my *God*, that you are not he. And they cryed out with a loud voyce, *He made us*. My questioning with them, is my *intention*; and their answer is their *figure* and *species*. And I turned my self unto my self, and said, Who art thou? And I answered, *A man*: for behold, here is a soule, and a body in me, one without, and the other within. By which of these two, am I to seek my *God*, whom my body had enquired after from earth to heaven, even so far as I was able to lend these beames of mine eyes in ambassage?

a An old Philosopher. *b* *As he saies by Intention, for in our Marginall note, lib 7. cap. 1. pag. 342. Like a Philosopher he puts Intention and Species together. He meanes, that they having a shape and figure, showed them not to be Gods. This is contrary to the Manichees.*



But the *better* part is the inner part, unto which all these my bodily messengers g^ove up their^{*} intelligence, as being the *President* and *Judge* of all the severall answers of heaven and earth, and of all things that are therein, who all said, *We are not God, but He made us*. These things did my *inner man* know by the intelligence given him by the *outer man*: And I the *inner man* knew all this; I the *Soule*, by means of the *Sences* of the body.

4. I asked the whole *frame* of the world concerning my *God*; and that answered me, *I am not He, but He made me*. Doth not this *corporeal figure* evidently appeare to all those that have their perfect senses? why then speaks it not the same things unto all? The creatures both small and great do see this *corporeal figure* well enough, but they are not able to ask any questions of it: because *Judge Reason* is not *President* over their *Sences* which are to give up intelligence unto him. But *Men* are well able to ask that, so they may clearly see the *invisible things of God*, which are understood by the things that are made. But by inordinate love of them, they make themselves subjects unto them: and *Slaves* are not fit to be *Judges*. Nor will the creatures answer to such as ask of them, unless the askers be able to judge: nor so much

* *Reunntiabans*. This he translates, gave place, ignorantly. See our Note on lib. 7.c. 17.

* The 5. outward *Sences* represent what they see, heare, &c. as the 3. inward *Sences*: and then *Reason* takes the report of intelligence, and makes a judgement, and gives direction accordingly. The other Translator is much out here, for want of a very little Philosophy.

as alter their voyce, (that is, their outward appearance) if so be one man onely looks upon it, and another seeing it, withall enquires of it, so as it may appeare one way to this man, and another way to that man: but it appearing the same way unto both, is dumbe to this man, but makes answer unto that; Yea verily it speaks unto all; but they onely understand it, who compare that voyce received from without by the *Sences*, with the *Truth* which is within. For *Truth* sayes unto me, Neither heaven, nor earth, nor any other body is thy God. This, their very *Nature* sayes unto him that looks upon them; There is lesse bulk in the part of a thing, then in the whole. Now unto thee I speak, *O my soule*, Thou art my better part: for thou quickenest this bulk of my body, by giving life unto it, which *nobody* can give unto a *body*: but thy God is the life of thy life unto thee.

CHAP. VIJ.

God is not to be found by any ability in our bodies.

1. **W**Hat is it therefore which I love, when as I love my God? who is *He* that is above the top of my Soule? By this very soule will I ascend up unto him, I will soare beyond that faculty of mine, by which I am united unto my body, and by which I fill the whole frame of it with life. I cannot by that faculty find my God; for so the *Horse and Mule that have no understanding*, Psal. 32. 9. might as well find him; seeing they have the same faculty, by which their bodies live also.

3. But another faculty there is, not that onely by which I give give *life*, but that too by which I give *sence* unto my flesh, which the Lord hath framed for me: when (namely) he commands the eye that it should not *heare*, and the *care* that it should not see; but orders *that* for me to see by, and *this* for me to heare withall; and assigns what is proper to the other Sences severally, in their own seats and offices; which being divers through every sence, yet I the soule being but one, do actuate and govern. I will (I say) mount beyond this faculty of mine; for even the Horse and Mule have this, seeing they also are sensible in their bodies.

CHAP. VII.

The force of the Memory.

1. I Will soare therefore beyond this faculty of my nature, still rising by degrees unto *Him*, who hath made both me and that nature. And I come into these fields and spacious palaces of my *Memory*, where the treasures of innumerable *forms* brought into it from these things that have been perceived by the *sences*, be hoarded up. There is laid up, whatsoever besides we *think*, either by way of enlarging or diminishing, or any other wayes varying of those things which the *sence* hath come at: yea, and if there be any thing recommended to it, and there laid up, which forgetfulness hath not swallowed up and buried. To this treasury when ever I have recourse, I demand to have any thing brought forth whatsoever I will; whereupon some things come out presently, and others must be longer enquired after, which are fetcht

(as it were) out of some more secret receptacles: other things rush out in troops; and while a quite contrary thing is desired and required, they start forth, as who should say, Lest peradventure it should be we that are called for. These I drive away with the hand of my heart, from the sight of my remembrance; untill that at last be discovered, which I desire, appearing in sight, out of its hidden Cells. Other things are supplied more easily and without disorder, just as they are desired: former notions giving way to the following; by which giving way are they laid up again, to be forthcoming when ever I will have them. Which is altogether, whenas I repeate any thing by heart.

3. There are all things distinctly and under generall heads preserved, according to the severall gates that each *notion* hath been brought in at: as *light* (for example) and all *colours* and *formes* of bodies, brought in by the *Eyes*; and by the *Eares* all sorts of *Sounds*; and all *Smells* by the *Nose* & *brils*; all tastes by the gate of the *Mouth*; and by the *sence* which belongs to the whole * body, is brought in whatsoever is *hard* or *soft*; whatever is *hot* or *cold*; whatever is *smooth* or *rugged*, *heavy* or *light*, in respect of the body, either outwardly or inwardly. All these doth that great Receipt of the memory take in, which are to be forthcoming, and to be call'd for again, whenas need so requireth. And there be, I know not what, secret & unexpressable nooks

* The Touch, which hath no proper Seat or Organ, as the other four Sences have, has is diffused all the body over.

in it; seeing all these *notions* of things each by his own *Port*, enter into it, and are there laid up in it. And yet doe not the things themselves enter the *Memory*; onely the *Images* of the things perceived by the *Sences*, are ready there at hand, when ever the *Thoughts* will recall them.

3. Which *Images* who can tell how they come to be formed, notwithstanding it plainly appears by which of the *Sences* each hath been fetched in and locked up? For even whilest I dwell in the *darknesse* and *silence*; yet into my *memory* can I draw *colours*, if I please, and can discern betwixt *Black* and *White*, and what other I desire. Nor yet her *Sounds* break in, and disturb that *notion* drawn in by mine eyes, which I am now considering upon: seeing these *Sounds* be in the *memory* too, and laid up in secret, as it were apart by themselves; and I can call for them if I please, and they present themselves to me at an instant. And though my tongue be quiet, and my throat silent, yet can I sing as much as I will; Nor do the *Images* of those *colours* which notwithstanding be then there, now encroach and interrupt me, when another piece of treasure is call'd for which came in by the eares. And thus all other things, brought in and laid up by other of the *sences*, do I call to remembrance at my pleasure. Yea I discern the breath of lillies from that of violets, though at the instant I smell nothing: and I preferre honey before sweet wine, smooth before rugged; though at that time I neither *taste*, nor *handle*, but *remember* onely. All this do I *within*, in that huge roominesse of my *memory*.

4. For there have I in a readinesse, the heaven, the earth, the sea, and what-ever I can think upon in them, besides those which I have forgotten. There also meet I with my *self*, I recall my *self*, what, where, or when I have done a thing; and how I was affected when I did it. There be all what ever I remember, either upon mine own experience, or others credit. ^a Out of the same store do I my self compare these and these likelihoods of things; either of such as I have made experience of, or of such as I have barely believed upon experience of some things that be passed: and by these do I compare actions to *come*, their *events* and *hopes*; and upon all these again do I meditate, as if they were now present. I will do this or that (say I to my self, in that great receipt of my soul) and this or that shall follow upon it. Oh that this would come to passe, or that God would deliver us from this or that! Thus talk I to my self: which when I speak of, the *Images* of all the things that I do speak of, are present, all out of the same treasury of my *memory*; nor could I talk of any of these things, were the *Images* wanting.

5. Great is this force of *memory*, excessive great, O my God: a large and an infinite roomthinesse, who can plummet the bottome of it? yet is this a *faculty* of mine, and belongs unto my nature: nor can I my self comprehend all that I am. Therefore is the *minde* too streight to contain it self, not of capacity ^b enough to hold there, what should be

^a Of this sentence my Translator hath made very able Nonsense. ^b Here he leaves out what he could not consist.

there.

there. Is the memory therefore without the mind, or rather is it not within it? how then is not the mind sufficient to contain all it self?

6. A wonderfull admiration surprizes me, and an astonishment seizes me upon this: That men go abroad to admire the heights of mountains, the lofty billowes of the sea, the long courses of rivers, the vast compasse of the Ocean, and the circular motions of the starres, and yet leave themselves unadmired. And that more is, all these things which I spake of, I did not then see them with mine eyes; yet could I not have spoken of them, unlesse those mountains, and billowes, and rivers, and starres, which I have seen, and that Ocean which I believe to be, I had already seen inwardly in my memory, yea with such vast spaces between, as if I had verily seen them abroad. Yet did not I swallow them into me by seeing, when as with mine eyes I beheld them: Nor are the things themselves now within me, but the images of them only. And I distinctly know by what sence of the body, each of these took impression in me.

CHAP. IX.

The memory of divers Sciences.

1. **A**Nd yet is not this all, that this unmeasurable capacity of my memory beares in mind. Here also be all these precepts of those *liberall Sciences* as yet unforgotten; coucht as it were further off in a more inward place, though properly no place: nor is it the *Images* * of the

* Here by putting in of Onely, be quite marres the sense.

precepts which I beare, but the *Sciences* themselves. For, what *Grammar*, or *Logike* is, how many kinds of *Questions* there be, whatsoever of all these I know, 'tis in such maner in my memory, as that I have not meerly taken in the *Image*, and left out the thing, as though the noise of it having sounded, is again vanished, like a voyce left in the eare by the * *eye* of it, whereby it was to be called into memory again, as if it now presently sounded, whenas indeed it doth not sound. Or like an *Odour*, even while it passes away and is fann'd into wind, does affect the smelling; whence it conveighs the *Image* of it self into the memory, which remembring, we smell over again: or like meat, which verily in the belly having now no taste, hath a kind of relish in the memory still: or like any thing that is by touching sensibly felt by the body, which also being taken away, is notwithstanding in our memory imagined by us still. For surely the things themselves are not let in into the *memory*, but the *Images* of them onely are with an admirable swiftnesse catcht in, and in most wonderfull cabinets stored up; whence they are as wonderfully fetcht out again, by the *A&* of remembring.

* *Sicut vox impresso per aures vestigio quo quasi sonaret, cum jam non sonaret.* The former Transl. ter is lost, makes a mere noise only. *Vestigium* is that impression, seale or mark, that a thing leaves behind it, which in *Songs*, *Musicians* call the *Agar*. The print of the *Hares* foot is the *vestigium* to the *Dogs* eye; but the *scent* left in it, is the *vestigium* to his nose. The memory (that is the bearing still in minde) needs not this: but 'tis the remembring or the recalling to memory that needs this *vestigium*, to discourse and hunt upon, for recovery of the lost notion.

CHAP.

CHAP. X.

Our Sences conueigh things unto our memory.

1. **B**Ut now when I hear that there be three kinds of questions, *whether the thing be? What it is? and of what nature it is?* I do indeed hold fast the images of the sounds, of which those words be composed, which I also know to be, together with the noise passed in by my eares, not to be now in any being at all. As for the things themselves which are signified by those sounds, I never so much as reacht them with any sence of my body, nor ever discerned them otherwise then by my very minde; yet have I laid up not their Images only, but their very selves. Which how they gate into me, let others tell if they can: I for mine own part have run over all the *Cinque-ports* of my flesh, but cannot find by which they gate in.

2. For mine eyes, they say, that it ~~is~~ those images were coloured, 'twas we then that brought tidings of them. The eares they say, if they gave any sound, then 'twas we gave notice of them. The *Nostrils* they say, If they had any smell, then they passed in by us. The sence of *taste* that sayes, Unlessse they had a *favour* with them, never ask me for them. The *Touch* that sayes, Were it not a body, I handled it not; and if I never handled it, then I gave no notice of it. Look now, whence and which way gate these things into my memory? I for my part know not how. For when I first learned them, I gave not credit to another mans heart, but I took knowledge of them in mine; and approving them for true, I recommended them over unto my heart, there
O 5 laying

there laying them up as it were, whence I might fetch them again, whenever I desired. In my heart therefore they were even before I learned them, but in my memory they were not. Where were they then? or wherefore, when as they were spoken of, did I acknowledge them, and affirmed *So it is, and it is true*, unlesse because they were already in my memory; though so far off yet, and crowded so far backward as it were into certain secret caves, that had they not been drawn out by the advice of some other person, I had never perchance been able so much as to have thought of them?

CHAP. XI.

*The Species of * things are in the Soule.*

I. **W**herefore we finde, that to learne these things whose *Images* we suck not in by our Senses, but perceive *within* by themselves, without Images, as they are; is nothing else, but by *meditating to gather together*, and by *diligent marking* to take notice of those same *notions* which the *memory* did before contain more scatteringly and confusedly; that so, being orderly and at hand as it were laid up in the memory, (where before they lurked uncollected and neglected) they may more easily make proffer of themselves unto our *intention**, now made familiar unto them.

* *The Species be the fore notes or notions of things. Scaliger. And these Species be indeed in the Soule, not diffused throughout all, but seated in the understanding principally. Arist. 1. 2. de anima, c. 4. which understanding is the intellectual memory.*

* *For Species intentionales, See the Philosophers: See our Note upon pag 342.*

2. And

2. And how many of this kind does my *memory* still beare in minde which are found out already, and as I said, ready at hand as it were; which yet we are said to have ^a learned and to have known? which if I should give over to call to minde but for some short space of time, they become so drowned again, & so give us the slip as it were, back into such remote and privy lodgings, that I must be put again unto new pains of meditation, for recovery of them to their former perfection. For other *Quarter* to retire ^b unto they have not: but they must be *rallied* and drawn together again, that they may be known; that is to say, they must as it were be *collected* and *gathered together* from their dispersions: whence the word ^c *Cogitation* is derived. For *Cogo* and *Cogito* are of the same forme, as *Ago* and *Abito*, *Facio* and *Factito*. Notwithstanding bath the minde of man so properly laid claim unto this word (*Cogitation*) as that now, not that which is *gathered together* in any other place, but in the mind onely, (that is *drawn together*) is by custome of speech properly now said to be (*cogitated*, or) thought upon.

^a He appears to be of the Platonists mind, and that to Know is nothing but to Remember.

^b The brain haib no Cell to put forgotten notions in.

^c He means, that to think or meditate upon a note, is to gather together the scattered notions of it.

CHAP. XII.

The memory of Mathematicians.

1. **T**HE *Memory* containeth also the reasons and innumerable lawes of *Numbers* and *Dimensions*,

sens; none of which hath been by any Sense of the body imprinted in it: seeing they have neither colour, nor sound, nor taste, nor smell, nor feeling. I have heard the sound of those words by which these things are signified, when as they have been argued upon: but the sounds are of another nature from the things. For the sounds are one way in *Greece*, and another in *Latine*: but the things themselves are neither *Greece*, nor *Latine*, nor any other Language.

2. I have likewise seen the lines drawn by *Arabitells*, even as small as the thred of a Spiders web; but these are of another kinde; they are not the Images of those dimensions,* which mine eye of flesh shewed unto me. He knoweth them, whosoever without any thought of heart whatsoever, acknowledges them within himself. I have already perceived even with all the senses of my body, those numbers which we number; but those numbers by which we make our account, are far different from those numbers by which we make our account upon; nor are they the Images of these, and therefore are they* diverse from them. Let him now laugh at me for these things who understands them not; and I will pity him, whilest he derides me.

* For the Dimensions were thick and broad, but the lines neither. * I read *is variis sunt, and not valde sunt*, in the printed copies have it.

CHAP. XIII.

The Memory of Affections.

I. **A**LL these things I well remember, and how I first learnt them do I well remember. Many things most falsely objected against these things

things, have I both heard, and do yet remember : which though they be false, yet is it not false that I have remembred them ; and that I have discerned withal, betwixt these truths and these falshoods which are objected. And this I remember too ; and I perceive my self to discern these things one way now, and I remember my self to have oftentimes discerned them otherwayes, whenas I often thought upon them. That I have therefore understood these things heretofore, do I remember often ; and what I now discern and understand, do I lay up in my memory, that hereafter I may remember how I have understood it now. Therefore also do I now remember my self to have remembred ; like as if hereafter I shall call to remembrance, that I have been able to remember these things now ; it shall be by the force of my memory, that I shall be able to call it to remembrance.

2. My *Memory* contains also the *Affections* of my mind, not in the same manner that my mind it self contains them, whenas it suffers them : but far another way, like as the force of the * *Memory* contains it self. For even then when I am not merry, yet do I remember my self to have been merry heretofore ; and when I am not sad, yet do I call to minde my forepassed sadnesse. And that I have been afraid heretofore, I now remember without feare ; and I sometimes call to mind a forepast desire, without any desire at all, now. Sometimes on the contrary, in a fit of joy do I remember my forepassed sorrow, and in a sad mood call I to mind the joy that I have sometimes enjoyed.

* *Sicut sese tenet vis memoriae.* This he turns, *As that is dependeth only upon the force of the memory.*

CHAP. XIV.

*How, when we are not glad, we call to minde things
that have made us glad.*

WHich is not to be wondered at, if meant of the body: for the mind is one thing, and the body another. If I therefore with joy remember some passed pain of body, 'tis not so strange a thing. But now seeing this *Minde* is the very same with the *Memory*, (for that when we give command to have a thing kept in memory; we say, *Look to it that you beare this well in mind*: and so, when we forget a thing, we say; *It was in my mind even now*, and, 'tis quite *slipt out of my mind*, calling the *memory* the *minde*;) seeing therefore so it is, how comes this to passe, that when in a cheerfull veine I remember a sad passage, my mind thinking upon joy, and my memory at the same time upon sadnesse: my mind upon the joyfullnesse it conceives, is full of joy; and yet my memory upon the sadnesse that is in it, is not sad; does not the memory perchance belong unto the minde? Who will say so? doubtlesse therefore the *memory* is as it were the *belly* of the *mind*; and *joy* and *sadnesse*, like *sweet* and *sowre meat*, which when they are committed unto the *memory*, be as as it were passed away into the *belly*; where stowage they may have, but taste none at all. Ridiculous it is to imagine these to be alike; and yet are they not utterly unlike.

2. But behold, this also bring I out of my memory, whenas I say there be four perturbations of the mind, *desire*, *joy*, *seare*, and *sorrow*: and how far soever I am able to dispute upon these *beads*,
both

both by *dividing* the whole, each into his parts, and by *defining*; in my memory find I what to say, and out of my memory do I bring it: yet am I not moved for all this, with any of these *Perturbations*, whenas by calling them to mind, I do remember them; yea, and before I recalled and meditated them over, in my memory they were, and therefore by calling to mind might they very well be fetcht from thence. Perchance therefore, even as meat is by *chewing* of the Cud, brought up again out of the belly: so by *recalling*, are these brought out of the memory. Why therefore does not the disputer perceive the taste of it in the mouth of his *Musing*? why does not the rememberer feel (I mean) the swiftnesse of joy, and the bitternesse of sorrow? Is the comparison unlike in this, that it is not every way the like? Who then would willingly discourse of these subjects, if so oft as we name *grief* or *fear*, so oft we should be compelled to be *sad* or *fearfull*? and yet could we never speak of them, did we not find in our memory, not the sounds of the words alone according to their *Images* imprinted in it by the *Sences* of the body, but even the very notions of the *Things* themselves which we never received in, by any of the *Cinque-ports* of our body, but which the very minde it selfe made sensible of by the experience of its own passions, hath committed unto the memory; or else which the memory hath of it self retained, being never committed unto it.

CHAP. XV.

We remember absent things also.

IN But whether all this be done by the *images* or no, who can readily affirm? For when, for example, I name a *Stone*, I name the *Sun* at such time as the *things* themselves are not before my *Senses*; yet even then do I conceive the *images* of them. I name some bodily pain, yet I do not feel it, whenas nothing akes about me: yet for all this, unless the image were in my memory, I should never know what I said, nor should in discoursing discern pain from pleasure.

3. I name bodily *health*; whenas I am sound in body, the thing it self is present with me; and yet for all this, unless the *image* of *health* also were fixed in my memory, I could by no means recall into my remembrance, what the sound of this name should signifie: nor would *sick* people know when *health* were named, what were spoken, unless the image thereof were preserved by the force of the memory, although the thing it self were far enough from the body. I name some *numbers* by which we *accompt*, and they are in my memory; not their images, but themselves. I name the *image* of the *Sun*, and that image is also in my memory. Nor do I call to minde the image of that image, but the image it self, that is it which is present with me, whenas I remember it. I name *Memory*, and I acknowledge what I name. But where do I acknowledge it, but in my memory it self? May the memory it self be present unto it self by its own image, or not by it self rather?

CHAP.

CHAP. XVI.

There is a memory of forgetfulness also.

WHEN I name *forgetfulness*, and acknowledge it withall; whence should I acknowledge what to name, did I not remember it? I speak not now of the sound of the name, but of the thing which it signifies: which if I had forgotten, I could never acknowledge what that sound signified. When therefore I remember *memory*, then is the *memory* it self present with me by it self: but when I name both *forgetfulness* and *memory* too, then is *forgetfulness* present also. *Memory* is present, by which I have remembered; *forgetfulness* present, by which I have not remembered. But what is *forgetfulness*, but a privation of *memory*? Now then is that present for me to remember, which when it is so, I cannot remember? Now, if we remember any thing, we hold it in *memory*; but *forgetfulness*, unless we did remember it, we could never at the hearing of the name, acknowledge the thing that is signified by the sound. *Forgetfulness* is retained in the *memory*. Present therefore it is, that we might not forget it, which when it is not, we do forget it. Is it to be understood by this, that *forgetfulness* is not present unto the *memory* (whenas we remember it) by it self, but by an image, because if it were present by it self, it would cause us not to remember, but to forget?

2. Who now shall search out that? who shall comprehend how that should be? For mine own part,

part, Lord, I yet labour upon this, yea and I labour in my self, and am become a soyl that requires hard labour and very much sweate. For we are not now quartering out the regions of heaven, or taking the distances of the Starres, or devising where the hinges of the earth should hang. It is I my self that remember, I the *Mind*. 'Tis then no such wonder, if the knowledge of that be far from me, which I my self am not. But what is nearer to me then my self? Yet so, am I not able to comprehend the force of mine own memory; no, though I cannot so much as call my self my self, without it. For what shall I say, when I see it so certain that I remember forgetfulnesse? Shall I say that that is not in my memory, which I remember? or shall I say that forgetfulnesse is for this purpose in my memory, that I might not forget? Both these are most absurd.

3. What is to be thought of this third doubt? How can I say that the image of forgetfulnesse is kept in memory, and not forgetfulnesse it selfe, whenas I do remember it? With what colour may I affirm this also, seeing that when the image of any thing is imprinted in the memory, 'tis necessary that the thing it self be present first, by which that image may be imprinted? For in this sort do I remember *Carthage*, and all other places where I have been: thus remember I mens faces also, whom I have seen, and the *Reports* of the other *Senses*: thus do I too, with the health or sickness of the body. For when these *objects* were present with me, my memory received their images from them; which as ever present, I might look unto

A third doubt.

and

and repeat over in my mind, when ever I desired to remember the *objects* themselves which were absent. If therefore this forgetfulness should be held in memory by means of its image, & not immediately by it self, then plainly, hath it self been sometimes present, that its image might be then taken. But (now) when it was present, how did it write that image in the memory, seeing the property of forgetfulness is, by its presence, to blot out whatever it finds there noted? Well! which way soever it be, notwithstanding that way be past conceiving, and expressing; yet most certain I am, that I do well remember this same forgetfulness, by which whatsoever else we remember, is defaced.

CHAP. XVII.

A Threefold power of memory.

GREAT is this power of Memory; a thing, O my God, to be amazed at; a very profound and infinite multiplicity; and this thing is the minde, and this thing am I. What am I therefore, O my God? What kinde of nature am I? A life various and full of changes, yea vehemently insatiable. Behold, in those innumerable fields, and dennes, and caves of my memory; innumerable full of innumerable kinds of things, brought in, first, either by the *Images*, as all *bodies* are: secondly, or by the *presence* of the *things* themselves, as the *Arts* are: thirdly, or by certain *notions* or *impressions*, as the *Affections* of the mind are, which even then when the mind doth not suffer, yet does the memory retain; for that whatsoever is in the mind, is also in the memory. Through
all

all these do I run and tumble; *mining* into them on this side, and on that side, so far as ever I am able, but can find no bottome. So great is the force of memory, so great is the force of this life of man, even whilest he is mortall.

2. What am I now to do, O thou my true life my God? I will passe even beyond this *faculty* of mine which is called *memory*: yea, I will passe beyond it, that I may approach unto thee, O sweet light. What sayest thou to me now? See, I am now mounting up by the steps of my soul, towards thee who dwellest above me. Yea I will passe beyond this faculty of mine which is called *memory*, desirous to touch thee, so far as thou mayest be touched, and to cleave fast unto thee, where thou art to be laid hold upon. For even the *beasts* and *birds* have memory; else could they never find their dens and nests again, nor those many other things which they are used unto: nor indeed could they endure themselves unto anything, but by their memory. I will passe beyond my memory therefore, that I may arrive at him who hath separated us from the four footed beasts and the fowls of the ayre, making me wiser then they: yea, I will soare beyond mine own memory. But where shall I find thee, O thou truly good, and thou secure sweetnesse? But where shall I be able to find thee?

CHAP. XVIII.

Of the Remembrance.

1. IF I now find thee without my memory, then I am I unmindfull of thee: and how shall I find thee?

me, if I do not remember thee? The woman that
lost her gnat, and sought it with a light; un-
less she had remembered it, she had never found it:
for when it was found, whereby should she have
known whether it were the same or no, had she not
remembered it? I remember many a thing that I
are both lost, and found again: whereby knew
that? even because that when I was seeking for
any of them, and some-body askt me, *Is this it,*
or is that it? so long said I *no*, untill that were
shewed me which I sought for: which had I not
remembered (whatever it were) though it were of-
fered me, yet should I not find it, because I could
not acknowledge it. And at the same passe still
we are, as often as wee finde what we sought

2. Norwithstanding, when any thing is by
chance lost from the eyes, not from the memory,
(as every visible body) yet the image of it is kept
still *within*, and is sought for untill it be again re-
stored unto the sight: which when it is found, is
known again by the image which is *within*: Nor
do we say that we have found what we have lost,
unlesse we know it again; nor can we know it to
be the same, unlesse we remember it. This was
only lost to the eyes, but surely preserved in the
memory.

CHAP. XIX.

What Remembrance is.

1. **W**Hen now the memory it self loses any
thing, (as it falls out whenas we for-
get any thing) and seeks out for the recovery of it;
where

where at last doe we search, but in the memory selfe? where, if one thing be once offered in stead of another, we so long refuse it, untill we meet that which we seek for: which so soon as we have met withall, we say, *This is it*; which we could never do, did we not know it to be the same: and never could we do that, unlesse we did remember it. Certainly therefore we had forgotten it; yet all of it had not slipped us; but by *that part* whereof we had some hold, was the *lost part* sought for; because the memory now feeling that it did not beare about so much of it together, as it had wont to do, and hearing as it were upon the main received in the loss of what it had been used unto; it eagerly layeth hold to have that made up again, which was wanting. Like as some known man, (either seen or thought on) if having forgotten his name, we study to recover it; what ever name but *his* comes into our memory, it will not *poize in* with it; and all because that *name* was never used to be thought upon together with that *man*: which *name* therefore is so long rejected, untill *that* at length presents it self unto the memory; with which, as having been acquainted with the knowledge of, it may evenly jump in withall. And from whence does that name present it self, but out of the memory? for when being put in mind by some other man, we know it to be the same, 'tis by vertue of the memory. Nor do we now believe it as any new name, but upon the assurance of our Remembrance do we allow it to be the same, that was named to us.

But were the name utterly blotted out of the mind, we should not then remember it, when we

were

are again put in mind of it. For we have not utterly as yet forgotten that, which we remember ourselves to have forgotten. That lost notion therefore, which we have utterly forgotten, shall we never be able so much as to seek after.

C H A P. XX.

All men desire blessednesse.

HOW then do I seek after thee, O Lord? For when I seek thee, my God, I seek an happy life. I will seek thee, that my soul may live. For my body, that liveth by my soul: and my soul by thee. Which way then do I seek for an happy life? seeing it is not to be found, untill I can say it is enough, in that place where I am to say it. How seek I it? Whether by way of Remembrance, as one that had forgotten it, and yet remembering my self to have forgotten it? Or, by way of appetite to learn it as a thing unknown, which either I never knew, or at least to have so far forgotten it, as that I do not so much as remember that I have forgotten it? Is * not an happy life the thing which all desire? and is there any man that some way or other desires it not? But where gate they the knowledge of it, that they are so desirous of it? Where did they ever see it, that they are now so enamoured of it? Truly we have it, but which way, I know not: yea, there is a certain other way, which when any hath, he is even then blessed. And some there be, that be blessed in hope. These have it in a meaner kind, then those who are in possession: who

* Here the other Translator negligently misread his copy.

yet are much better then such as are neither blessed in deed, nor in hope : which very same men for all this, had they it not in some sort or other, would not so much as desire to be happy ; which that they do desire, is most certain.

2. How they come to know it, I cannot tell : and therefore have they it by, I know not, what secret notice ; concerning which, in much doubt I am, whether it be in the memory or no : which if it be, then should we sometimes have been blessed heretofore.

But whether every man should have been so happy as severally considered in himself, or as in the loines of that man who first sinned, and in whom we are all dead, and from whom being descended, we are all borne with misery ; I now enquire not, but this I demand, whether this blessed life be in the memory, or no ? For, never should we love it, did we not know it. We heare the name, and we all confesse our desire unto the thing : for we are not delighted with the sound onely.

For when a *Greek* hears the name sounded in *Latine*, he is no wayes delighted, for that he knowes not what is spoken ; but we *Latines* are delighted with it, even as he is, if he heares it pronounced in *Greek* : because the thing it selfe is neither *Greek* nor *Latine*, the attaining whereof both *Greeks* and *Latines* do so earnestly look after ; like as the men of other Languages do. Known therefore unto all it is, and could they with one voice be demanded, whether they would be happy or no ? without doubt they would all answer, That they would. And this could not be, unlesse the thing it selfe expressed by this name, were still reserved in their memory.

CHAP. XXI.

We also remember what we never had.

BUt is it so in memory, as *Carthage* is to a man that hath seen it? No. For a blessed life is not to be seen with the eye, because it is not a body. Do we then so remember it, as we do numbers? Neither. For these, he that already hath in his knowledge, seeks not further to attain unto. As for *blessed life*, we have that already in our knowledge, therefore do we love it, and yet desire to attain, that we may be blessed.

Do we remember it then, as we do Eloquence? Nor so. For although some upon hearing of the name, do thereupon call to mind the thing, who yet were never eloquent, and many do it that desire to be so, whereupon it appears to be already in their knowledge: yet having by their outward senses observed others to be more eloquent, they are both delighted at it, and desire to be so themselves: notwithstanding, if by their outward notice they had not observed it, they could not have been delighted with it; nor to be eloquent, but that they were delighted with such as were eloquent. But what this blessed life should be, we can by no sense of our body get the experience

2. Or is it so in memory, as the joy is that we remember? Perchance so indeed: for my joy I remember, even whilest I am sad; like as I do a happy life, even whilest I am unhappy: nor did I ever with any bodily sense either see, or hear, or smell, or taste, or touch that joy
P of

of mine: but I found it in my mind, whenever I rejoyced; and the knowledge of it stuck so fast in my memory, that I was well able to call it to remembrance, with contempt sometimes, and with fresh desire otherwhiles, even according to the diversity of those things, for which I remembered my selfe to have rejoyced. For even at unclean thoughts, was I sometimes overjoyed; which calling to mind again, I now both detest and curse. And otherwhiles doe I joy at good and honest thoughts, which I call to minde with some desire, although they perchance present not themselves; and therefore again sad at it, do I call to my mind my former rejoycing. Where therefore and when, had I any feeling of a blessed life, that I should remember, and love, and desire it? Nor is it my desire alone, or of some few besides, but every man verily would be happy; which, unlesse by some certain knowledge we had notice of, we should not with so certain a will desire it.

3. But what is this? If two men be askt whether they would go to the warres; one, perchance, would answer that he would, and the other, that he would not: but if both were askt, whether they would be happy, both of them would without all doubting affirm, that they desire it: nor for any other reason would this man go to the warres, and the other not, but to be happy: For perchance, because that as one man rejoyces upon this occasion, and another upon that; so do all men agree in their desire of being happy, even as they would agree, if they were asked, whether they desired to have occasion of rejoycing: (this * very joy being

* I read, *Quod ipsum gaudium*, instead of *Atque ipsum gaudium*, altering the confused interpositions & pointings.

the thing which they call *the blessed life*:) and that joy, though one man obtains by one means, and another man by another means, yet is this the thing agreed upon that they all strive to attain unto, namely, *that they may rejoyce*: which for that it is a thing which no man can rightly say, but that he hath had some experience of, being therefore found in the memory, is it called to knowledge, whenever the name of a *blessed life* is mentioned.

CHAP. XXII.

True joy, is this blessed life.

FARRE be it, O Lord, far be it from the heart of thy servant who here *confesseth* unto thee, far be it from me to imagine, that for every joy that I rejoyce withall, I should be made happy. For there is a joy which is not granted unto the ungodly, but unto those onely which love thee for thine own sake, whose joy thy self art. And this is the blessed life, *to rejoyce unto thee, concerning thee, and for thy sake*: this is the happy life, and there is no other. As for them that think there is another, they pursue another joy, which is not the true one. However, their mind is not utterly turned aside from some kinde of resemblance of rejoycing.

CHAP. XXIII.

A blessed life what, and where it is.

IT is not certain therefore that all men desire to be happy, for that those who have no desire

M. S. reads it Sane in stead of An, without an interrogative, else is the sense imperfect.

to rejoyce in thee, (which to do is the only happy life) doe not verily desire the happy life. Surely all men desire this: but *because the flesh lusteth against the Spirit, and the Spirit against the flesh* Gal. 5. 17. that they cannot do what they would do they fall upon that which they are able to do resting themselves contented therewith: For because, that they are not able to do, they do not will so earnestly, as were sufficient thorowly to make them able. For I demand of every man, whether they had rather rejoyce in the truth, or in the falsehood? They will as little doubt to say, *In the truth*, as they would to say, *that they desire to be happy*: For a happy life is a joying in the truth: For this is a joying in thee, who art the truth, O God my light, the health of my countenance, and my God. This is the blessed life that all desire; this life which is only blessed, do all desire; to joy in the truth is all mens desire. I have had experience of divers that would deceive, but not a man that would willingly be deceived. Where therefore gained they the knowledge of this happy life, but even there, where they learned the truth also: yea verily they love this truth, for that they would not be deceived: and whenas they love a happy life (which is nothing else but a joying in the truth) then also do they love the truth: which yet they would not love, were there not some notice of it remaining in their memory.

2. Wherefore then joy they not in it? why are they not blessed? even because they are more strongly taken up with other things which have more power to make them miserable, then that hath to make them happy, which they remember so little of.

For there is a dimme glimmering of light yet
 put-out, in men: let them walk, let them walk,
 that the darknesse overtake them not. Why now
 should *truth* bring forth hatred, and thy Minister
 become enemy unto them, whom he preaches the
 truth unto? whenas a happy life is loved, which is
 nothing else but a joying in the truth: unlesse the
 reason be, *Because truth is in that kinde loved,*
that all, which love any other thing, would gladly
have that to be the truth, which they so love:
 who, because they would not willingly be de-
 ceived, would not therefore be convinced of a
 falsehood? Therefore do they hate the truth,
 for the same reason, which they love in stead
 of the truth.

They love truth when it enlightens them, but
 they hate it when it reprehends them. For because
 they would not willingly be deceived, and faine
 would deceive; they do love it, when it discovers
 it self unto them; but they hate it, when it disco-
 vers them to others. But thus shall it pay them in
 their own coyn; because, those who would not
 have themselves discovered by it, even those in
 despite of their teeth shall it uncase, and yet not
 reveale it self unto them. Thus thus, yea very
 thus, yea just thus, desires this pore blinde, this
 lazie, this slovenly, and this ill-behav'd minde of
 man, to muffle up it self from the view of others;
 but that any thing should be concealed from it, it
 desires not.

But the quite contrary does befall it; for that
 it cannot lie undiscovered from the truth; but the
 truth shall be veiled up from it. Yet this minde
 of man notwithstanding, even thus wretched as

it is, takes joy rather in *truths* than in *falsehoods*. Happy therefore shall it one day be, if no distraction or interposing, it shall settle its only joy upon that *Truth*, by which all things else are true.

CHAP. XXIV.

That the memory containeth GOD too.

SEE now, how I have coursed over all my memory in search of thee, O Lord; and no where could I find thee, *without it*. Nor have I found any thing at all concerning thee, but what I have kept in memory; ever since the time that I first learnt thee: nor have I ever forgotten thee, since the hour I first learnt thee; for where I found *Truth*, there found I my God who is the truth it self; which from the time I first learnt it, have I not forgotten. Since therefore I learned to know thee, hast thou still kept in my memory; and there do I find thee, whenever I call thee to remembrance, and delight my self in thee. These be my holy delights, which thou hast bestowed upon me through thy mercy, which had respect unto my poverty.

CHAP. XXV.

In what degree of the memory God is found.

I. **B**Ut whereabouts in my memory is thy residence, O Lord? whereabouts there abidest thou? what kind of lodging hast thou there-framed for thy self? what manner of Sanctuary hast thou builded for thy self? Thou hast afforded this honour

nour unto my memory, as to reside in it; but in what quarter of it, that am I now considering upon. For I have already passed beyond such parts of it, as are common to me with the beasts, whilest I called thee to mind, (for as much as I found not thee there amongst the *images of corporeal things*;) and I proceeded to these parts of it, whither I had recommended the *Affections* of my mind: nor could I find thee there. Yea I passed further into it, even to the very seat of the mind it self (which is there in my memory, as appears by the minds remembrance of it self;) neither wert thou there: for that as thou art not either any corporeal image, no more art thou any *Affection* of a living man; like as when we rejoyce, condole, desire, feare, remember, forget, or whatsoever else we do of the like kind: No nor yet art thou the mind it self; because thou art the Lord God of the mind. Moreover, all these are changed, whenas thou remainest unchangeable over all; who yet vouchsafest to dwell in my memory, even since that first time that I learnt to know thee. But why seek I now, in what particular place of my memory thou dwellest, as if there were any places at all in it? Sure I am, that in it thou dwellest: even for this reason, that I have preserved the memory of thee, since the time that I first learnt thee: and for that I find thee in my memory, whensoever I call thee to remembrance.

CHAP. XXVI.

whereabouts God is to be found.

I. **W**Here then did I find thee, that I might learn thee? For in my memory thou wert not, before I learn'd thee. In what place therefore did I find thee, that so I might learn thee, but even in *thine own self*, far above *my self*? Place there is none; we go backward and forward, but particular place ~~there is~~ none to containe thee. Every where, O truth, art thou President of the Council to those that ask counsel of thee, and at one dispatch doest thou answer all, yea though they ask thy counsel upon divers matters. Clearly doest thou answer them, though all do not clearly understand thee. All may advise with thee about what they will, though they alwayes heare not such answer as they desired. He is thy best servant, that looks not so much to heare that from thee, which himself desireth; as he that is willing with that rather, which from thee he heareth.

CHAP. XXVII.

How God drawes us to himselfe.

I. **T**Oo late began I to love thee, O thou beauty both so ancient and so fresh, yea too too late came I to love thee. For behold, thou wert *within* me, and I *out* of my self, where I made search for thee; deformed I, wooing these beautiful pieces of thy workmanship. Thou indeed wert with me, but I was not with thee: these beauties kept me far

far enough from thee : even those, which, unlesse they had their *Being* in thee, should not be at all. Thou *calledst*, and *criedst* unto me, yea thou even *brakest* open my *deafnesse*. Thou *discoveredst* thy *beams*, and *shinedst* out unto me, and didst *chale* away my *blindnes*. Thou didst most *fragrantly blow* upon me, and I drew in my *breath* and panted after thee. I *tasted* thee, and now do *hunger* and *thirst* after thee. Thou didst *touch* me, and I even *burn* again to enjoy thy peace.

CHAP. XXVIII.

The misery of this life.

WHEN I shall once attain to be united unto thee in every part of me, then shall I no more feel either sorrow, or labour : yea, then shall my life truly be alive, every way full of thee. Whereas now verily, for that whom thou fillest, thou also raisest, am I a burthen unto my self, because I am not full of thee. The joyes of this my life which deserve to be lamented, are at strife with my sorrowes which are to be rejoyced in : but which way the victory will incline, I yet know not. Woe is me, O Lord, have pity on me : My sorrowes that be bad, are in contention with my joyes that be good : and which way the victory will encline, I yet know not. Alas for me, O Lord, have pity upon me. Woe is me : behold, hide not my wound : thou art the *Physician*, and I the *Patient* : thou mercifull, and I miserable. Is not the life of man upon earth a very temptation ?

2. Who is he that would willingly endure troubles and difficulties? * These thou commandest to be borne, not to be loved: for no man is in love with the crosse which he takes up, though he loves well enough to take it up. For notwithstanding that he rejoices to beare, yet much rather had he that there were no crosse for him to beare. In adversity, I desire prosperity, and in prosperity am I afraid of adversity: what middle place now is there betwixt these two, where the life of man is free from temptation? Woe is threatened unto the prosperity of this world, again and again; both for the fear of adversity, and lest our joy should be marred. Woe unto the adversities of this world, again and again, yea woe the third time unto them: and that because of the great desire men have unto prosperity. Adversity therefore being so hard a thing, and which makes * shipwrack of times of our patience, is not the life of man a very temptation upon Earth, and that without intermission?

*Some copies read it, *Nē frangat tolerantiam*; and others, *naufragat*.

CHAP. XXIX.

Our hope is all in God.

NOW is all my hope no where but in thy very great mercy, O Lord my God. Give me patience to endure what thou commandest, and then command what thou wilt. Thou imposest Continency upon me; and when I perceive

me * saith, that no man can be continent, unlesse thou love it, and that this was a point of wisdom to know whose gift it was. By continency verily, are we bound up and brought into unity with thee, from whom we were scattered abroad into many divisions: for needs must he love thee lesse, who loves any thing together with thee, which he loves not for thee.

O thou love, which art ever burning, and never quenched! O charity, my God! kindle me I beseech thee. Thou enjoynest me continency: give me what thou commandest, and then command what thou wilt.

* At quidam. The place quoted is Wisd. 8. 21. By which slight mentioning of the Author, he gives us to note, that he did not rank this book of Wisdom among the Canonical Scriptures, nor quoted it as Gods word, but mans. One saith. S. August. honours these Apocryphal books oftentimes by quoting them: but does not Canonize them. This same One saith, both the Popish Translator left out, as seeming too slight a phrase for his uncanonical Apocrypha.

CHAP. XXX.

The deceitfulness of dreames.

1. **V**erily thou commandest me to contain myself from the lust of the flesh, the lust of the eyes, and the ambition of this world; 1. Job. 2. 16. Thou commandest me also to abstain from carnall copulation; and concerning wedlock thou didst now advise me to a better course, than that was

* The Popish Translator notes, That chastity is better then marriage. But does that appear by this passage? Perchance to those

those that have the gift of continency (as St. Austen saith) had it is indeed, nay it had been a sinne for him to have married but for others, it is better to marry then to burn.

which thou ledest me my free choice in. And because thou gavest it, it was obtained, and that before I became a *dispenser* of thy *Sacrament*. But yet still there live in my memory, (which I have now spoken so much of) the images of such things, as my ill custome had there fixed; and which rush into my thoughts (though wanting strength) even whilest I am broad waking: but in sleep they come upon me, not to *delight* onely, but even so far as *consent*, and most like to the deed doing: yea, so far prevails the illusion of that image, (both in my soul and in my flesh) as that these false visions persuade me unto that when I am asleep, which true visions cannot do, when I am awake. Am I not my self at that time, O Lord my God? And is there yet so much difference betwixt my selfe and my selfe, in that moment wherein I passe from waking to sleeping, or return from sleeping unto waking?

Where is my reason at that time, by which my mind when it is awake, resisteth such suggestions as these? At which time, should the things themselves presse in upon me, yet would my resolution remain unshaken. Is my reason closed up together with mine eyes? or is it lull'd asleep with the senses of my body? But whence then comes it to passe, that we so often even in our sleep make such resistance, and being mindfull of our purpose, and remain most chastely in it, we yield no assent unto such enticements? And yet so much difference there is, as that when any thing hath other.

wile hapned in our sleep, we upon our waking return to peace of conscience: by the distance of time discovering that it was not we that did it, notwithstanding we be sorry that there is something some way or other done in us. Is not thy hand able, O God almighty, to cure all the diseases of my soul, and with a more abundant measure of thy grace also to quench the lascivious motions of my sleep?

3. Thou shalt increase, O Lord, thy graces more and more upon me, that my soule may follow my selfe home to thee, wholly freed of that bird-lime of concupiscence; that it may no longer rebell against it self, nor may in dreams not onely not commit these adulterous uncleannesses, by meanes of these * sensual Images, procuring pollution of the flesh, but that it may not so much ayonce consent unto them. For to hinder that no such fancy, (no not so much as should need any check to restrain it) do its pleasure in the chaste affection of those that sleep, (not in this life onely, but even in this age of *yearb*) is not hard for the Almighty to do, who is able to doe above all that we aske or thinke, Eph 3. 20. And for this time, in what case I yet am in this kinde of naughtinesse; have I confessed unto my good Lord; rejoycing with trembling in that grace which thou hast already given me, and bemoaning my self for that wherein I am still imperfect; well hoping, that thou wilt one day perfect thy mercies in me, even unto a fulnesse of peace: which both my outward and inward man shall at that time enjoy with thee, whenas *death* shall be swallowed up in victory. 1 Cor. 15. 54.

* *Imagines animales.*

CHAP. XXXI.

The temptation of eating and drinking.

1. **T**Here is another *evil of the day*, which I wish were sufficient unto it, *Mat. 6. 34.* that we are faine by eating and drinking to repair the daily decayes of our body, untill such time as thou *destroiest both belly and meat*, 1 Cor. 6. 13. whenas thou shalt kill this emptinesse of mine, with a wonderfull fulnesse, and shall *cloath this incorruptible*, with an eternal *incorruption*, 1 Cor. 15. 54. But in this life, even necessity is sweet unto me, against which sweetnesse do I fight, lest I should be beguiled by it; yea, a daily warre do I make, bringing my body into subjection by my *fastings*; the pinchings whereof are by the pleasure I take in it, expelled. Hunger and Thirst verily are painfull; they burn up and kill like a seaver, unlesse the physick of nourishments relieve us. Which, for that it is readily to be had, out of the comfort we receive by thy gifts, with which both *land, & water*, and *aire* serve our necessities, are our *calamities* termed our *delicacies*. Thus much hast thou taught me, that I am to take my meat as sparingly as I would do my physick.

2. But in the while I am passing from the pinching of emptinesse, unto the content of a competent replenishing, does that snare of lickorishnesse, even in the very passage, lie in ambush for me: For that passage between, is a kind of pleasure, nor is there any other way to passe by, but that which necessity constrains us to go by: And whereas health is the cause of our eating and drinking, there will a dangerous

gerous *licentiousness* goe along with *health* like a handmaid, yea endeavours oftentimes so to go before it, as that I eat that for my *riches* sake, which I either say I do, or desire to do, for my *health* sake. Nor is there the same moderation in both: for that which is enough in respect of *health*, is nothing neer enough in respect of *licentiousness*: yea very uncertain it is oftentimes, whether the necessary care of my body still requires *sustenance*, or whether a voluptuous *deceivableness* of *Epicurisme* supplies last with maintenance. And for that this case is uncertain, does my unhappy soul rejoyce, & provides it thereby of a protection of excuse: rejoycing for that it cannot now appear what may be sufficient for health; that so under the cloak of *health*, it may disguise the matter of *Epicurisme*.

3. These enticements do I endeavour to resist daily: yea I call thy right hand to help me, and to thee do I referre my perplexities; for that I am resolved of no counsel as yet, whereby to effect it. I heare the voyce of my God commanding, Let not your hearts be overcharged with *sorfeiting* and *drunkenness*; Luk. 21. 34. As for *drunkenness*, I am far enough from it; and thou wilt have mercy upon me, that it may never come neer me. But *full feeding* hath many a time stolne upon thy servant: but thou wilt have mercy upon me, that it may hereafter be put far from me: for no man can be temperate, unlesse thou give it. Many things thou vouchsafest unto us, which we pray for; and what good thing soever we have received before we pray, from thee have we received it; yea to this end have we already received it; that we might acknowledge so much afterwards. Drunkard was I

never :

never: but I have known many a drunkard made a sober man by thee. Thy doing therefore it is, that such should be kept from being drunkards hereafter, who have not been that way faulty heretofore; as from thee it also comes, that those should not continue faulty for ever, who have been given to that vice heretofore: yea from thee it likewise proceeds, that both these parties should take notice, from whom all this proceeded.

4. I heard also another voyce of thine, *Go not after thine own lusts, and from thine own pleasures turn away thy face, Ezek. 18.* Yea by thy favour have I heard this saying likewise, which I have much delighted in, *1 Cor. 8. 8.* Neither if we eat, are we the better; neither if we eat not, are we the worse: which is to say, that neither shall this thing make me rich, nor that miserable. Also another voyce of thine have I heard, *Phil. 4. 11, 12.* For I have learned in whatsoever state I am, therewith to be content: and I know how to abound, and how to suffer need. I can do all things through Christ that strengtheneth me. See here a souldier indeed of thy celestial armies; one not of the same mould that we are made of: but remember, Lord, that we are dust, and that of dust thou hast made man, *Gen. 3.* who was lost and is found, *Luk. 15. 32.* Nor yet could He do this of his own power, because he was of the same dust; him, I mean, whom I did so heartily love for this, saying by thy inspiration, *I can do all things (saith he) through him that strengtheneth me.* Strengthen me, that I may be able; give what thou commandest, and command what thou wilt. Even S. Paul confesses to have re-

* he means S. Paul, who spake this.

reived, and when he glorieth, in the Lord he glorieth.
 another * also have I heard begging of thee, Turn
 from me (saith he) the greedinesse of the belly. By
 which it appeareth, O my holy God, that the
 power is of thy giving, when any thing is done
 which thou commandest to be done. Thou hast
 taught me, good Father, that *Vnto the pure, all
 things are pure*; but that it is evil unto the man that
 eateth with offence, Tit. 1. 15. And, that every Crea-
 ture of thine is good, and nothing to be refused, which
 is received with thanksgiving, Rom. 14. 20. And
 that meat commendeth us not to God, 1 Tim. 4. 4.
 And, that no man ought to judge us in meat or drinke,
 1 Cor. 8. 8. And, that he which eateth, let him not
 despise him that eateth not; and let not him that
 eateth not, judge him that eateth. Rom. 14. 13.
 These things have I learned, thanks and praise be
 to thee therefore, my God and Master; even to
 thee that knockest at the door of mine eares, the
 enlightner of my heart: do thou deliver me out
 of all temptation.

6. It is not any uncleannesse in the meat which
 I feare, but the uncleannesse of mine own gur-
 mandizing. I know, that liberty was granted unto
Israhel, to eat of all kind of flesh that was good for
 food, Gen. 9. 3. That *Elishah* was fed with flesh,
 1 King. 17. 9. : that *John Baptist*, endued with
 an admirable abstinence, was not polluted by
 those living creatures the *Locusts*, which were
 granted him to feed upon.

* The place is found in Eccles. 13. 5, 6. which being Apocry-
 phal, he quotes not the Author so reverently as he did S Paul
 even now: See our note upon cap. 29.

And on the other side, I know that *Esau* was deceived by longing after the pottage of *Lentils*, Gen. 25. 34. and that *David* was blamed by himself for desiring a draught of water, 2 Sam. 23. 15, &c. and that our King was tempted, not concerning flesh, but bread; and the people in the wilderness therefore deserved to be reprov'd, not so much for desiring flesh, but for murmuring against the Lord, out of a lust to lickish meats, Num. 11. 14. My self therefore amidst these temptations do strive daily against mine own appetite of eating and drinking. For 'tis not of such a nature, as that I am able to resolve to cut my self short of it once for all, and never to touch it afterward, as I was able to do concerning carnall copulation. The bridle of the throat therefore is to be held between a temperate slacknesse and a stiffnesse: and who is he, O Lord, that is not somewhat transported beyond the lists of necessity? whatever he is, a great man he is; and let him magnifie thy name for it. But for mine own part, I am not the man, for that I am a sinner. Yet do I magnifie thy name too: yea, and *He* makes intercession to thee for my finnes, who hath overcome the world; who accounts me among the weak members of his body; because *thine eyes have seen my substance being yet imperfect, and in thy book were all my members written.* Psal. 139. 16.

CHAP. XXXII.

Of our delight in smelling.

1. **A**S for the tempting delight of sweet smells, I am not too much taken with it. When I misse them, I do not seek them; when I may have them,

them, I do not refuse them: yet alwayes indifferent I am, alwayes to be without them: At least to my self I seem to be, though perchance deceived I may be. For even that naturall darknesse is much to be lamented, wherein the knowledge of mine own abilities so far lies concealed, as that when my soule makes enquiry into her self concerning her own powers, it conceives it not safe too lightly to give credit unto it self; because that what is already in it, lies many times so closely muffled up, as nothing but experience can reveal it; nor ought any man to be secure in this life, (which may well be called one continued temptation) whether that he whom it hath been possible of worse to make better, may not likewise of better be made worse again. Our only hope, our only confidence, the only assured promise that we have, is thy mercy.

Hence the popish Translator observes, That no man can be sure of his salvation. But is that to be proved from this place? As Austen means, That the best man is not secured from falling into sin, that's all. But plainly he hath translated ill.

CHAP. XXXIII.

The pleasures taken in hearing.

THe delights of mine eares verily, have heretofore more strongly inveigled and ingaged me; but thou hast brought me off, and freed me. Yet still at hearing of those *Ayers* which thy words breathe soul into, whenas they are sung with a well-tuned and a well-governed voyce; I do, I confesse, receive a little contentment: not so great though, as that I am enchanted by it, but that I can go away when I please. But yet for all this, that those *Ayers* may together with these words (by vertue of which

which they receive life) gain full admission with me ; do they aspire to be entertained into a place of no mean honour in this heart of mine. Nor can I scarce afford them a room befitting for them. At another time forsooth do I seem to my self to attribute more respect unto them then is seemly, yea even whilst together with those *sacred ditties* I perceive these minis of ours to be far more religiously and zealously blown up unto a flame of devotion, whenas these *ditties* are thus sung ; then they would have been, had they not been so sung : yea and I perceive withall, how that the severall affections of our *spirit*, according to a sweet variety, have their proper *Moods* answerable to them in the *voyce* and *singing*, by I know not what secret familiarity whereof they be stirred up.

2. But this contentment of my flesh, (unto which it is not fit to give over my soule to be effeminated :) doth very oft beguile me ; when (namely) the *sence* goes not so respectfully along with the *reason*, that it can with any patience endure to come behind it ; but upon this consideration onely ; that because *Reason* for the *Sences* sake gained admission, therefore would the contentment of the *Sence* even run before *Reason*, and be her leader. Thus in these things I sometimes sinne by surprize, but afterwards I finde mine own fault. Again at another time through an indiscreet weariness of being inveigled, do I erre out of too precise a severity : yea very fierce am I sometimes in the desire of having the *melody* of all pleasant *Musick* (to which *Dauids Psalter* is so often sung) banished both from mine own eares, and out of the whole Church too : yea and the safer way seeme

seemed unto me, which I remember to have been often told me of *Atanasius* Bishop of *Alexandria*, who caused the Reader of the Psalmes to sound it forth, with so little warbling of the voyce, as that it was neerer to pronouncing, then to singing.

3. Notwithstanding so often as I call to minde the teares I shed at the hearing of thy *Church-songs*, in the beginning of my * recovered faith; yea and at this very time, whenas I am moved, not with the *singing*, but with the *thing sung*, (when namely they are set off with a cleare voyce and skilfully governed) I then acknowledge the great good use of this institution. Thus float I between peril of pleasure, and an approved profitable custome: enclined the more (though herein I pronounce no irrevocable opinion) to allow of the old usage of singing in the Church; that so by the delight taken in at the eares, the weaker minds may be rowzed up into some feeling of devotion. And yet again, so oft as it befalls me to be more moved with the *voyce* then with the *ditty*, I confesse my selfe to have grievously offended: at which time I wish rather not to have heard the musick. See now in what a perplexity I am! weep with me, and weep for me, O all you who inwardly feele any thoughts whence good actions do proceed. As for you that feele none such, these things move not you. But thou O Lord my God, look upon me, hearken, and be-

* His mother bred him up in the true faith: then the Manichees corrupted him, from whom he was newly now recovered.

hold, and pity, and heal me, thou, in whose eyes I am now become ** Torture* to my self, and that the perplexity I languish upon.

** Mihi questio f. Quis sum. Questio was the Torture used on the Christians by the persecutors: so called, for that they began with this question, Art thou a Christian? So Saint Cyprian, Epist. 9. Tolerasti durissimam questionem, nec cessasti supplicis. And In dolore patientes, in questione victores. This the other Translator turns, In whose eyes I know now how I stand. Take which you please.*

CHAP. XXXIV.

The enticements coming in by the eyes.

I. **T**Here remain the pleasures of these eyes of my flesh, concerning which I am now to make this *Confession* unto thee: which let the eares of thy temple, those brotherly and devout eares, well hearken unto; that with it we may conclude our discourse, concerning the temptations of the lusts of the flesh, which as yet sollicite me, *groaning earnestly, and desiring to be cloathed upon with my house from heaven.* Mine eyes take delight in fair formes, and varieties of them; in beautifull and pleasant colours. Suffer not these to hold possession in my soul; let my God rather be Lord of it, who made all these: very good they be indeed, yet is *He* my good, & not they. Verily, these entice me broad waking every day, nor find I any rest from these sights, as I have had often, when silence was kept after sweet voyces. For this *Queen of Colours, the Light*, shedding it self into all whatever we behold, so oft as I enjoy the day-light, gliding by
mine

mine eye in its varied formes, doth most sweetly
 aveigle me, wholly busied about another matter,
 and taking no notice of it. For it so forcibly infi-
 nuates it self, that if at any time it suddenly be
 withdrawn. it is with much longing lookt after a-
 gain; and if missing too long, it besaddeth the
 minde. O thou *light*, which *Tobias* beheld, *Tob. 4.*
 when with his eyes closed up, he directed his *sonne*
 the way to life; himself going before with the feet
 of charity, never misleading him: Or that light
 which *Isaac* beheld, *Gen. 27. v.* when as his fleshly
 eyes being dimme, so that he could not see, he blessed
 his sonnes, not able to discern which was which:
 though in blessing of them, he deserved to have
 discern'd them. Or that light which *Jacob* beheld,
 when taken blind in his old age, he, with an illu-
 minated heart, in the persons of his own sonnes
 gave light unto the fortunes of the severall families
 of people, forefignified to be derived from them,
Gen. 48. 14, &c. and as when he laid his hands upon
 his grandchildren by *Joseph*, mystically laid a crosse,
 not as their father by his outward eye corrected
 them, but as himself by a beam of light from with-
 in wittingly discerned them. This is the light in-
 deed, yea the onely light, nor is there any other:
 nay, and all those are one, who see and love that
 light. As for this corporeal light which I now spake
 of, it * be-sawces this present life for her blinde
 lovers, with a tempting and a dangerous sweetnes

* *Dulcedine condit vitam, &c.* This he translates, It blocks up
 this life of ours in blind affections. Ignorantly deriving *Condit*
 from *Conda*, and not from *Conditio*; and negligently misread-
 ing *Amoribus* (as I guesse) for *Amatoribus*. Had this dis-
 course of blind men hurt his eye-sight?

whereas

whereas those that know how to praise thee that light, do spend it, O God all Creator, singing thy hymnes, and are not taken up from in their sleep. Thus desire I to be employed.

3. These seducements of the eyes do I manfully resist, lest my feet wherewith I am to enure upon my way, should be ensnared; yea and I lift up mine invisible eyes unto thee, that thou wouldest be pleased to pluck my feete out of that snare: yea, thou doest ever and anon pluck them out, for they are ensnared. Thou ceasest not to pluck them out, though I entangle my self at every snare that is laid: because *thou that keepest Israel shalt neither slumber nor sleep, Psalm 124.* Oh how innumerable toyes made by divers Art and manufactures, both in our apparrell, shoes, vessels and such like works; in pictures also and divers feigned images, yea and these far exceeding all necessary and moderate use, and all pious significations, have men added to tempt their own eyes withall: outwardly following after what themselves make, inwardly forsaking him by whom themselves were made; yea defacing* that image, in which themselves were once made?

4. For mine own part, O my God and my beauty, I even therefore dedicate an hymne unto thee, and do sacrifice praise unto my Sanctifier, because of those beautifull patternes which through mens

* *Entremittentes quod facti sunt, having before spoken of images, he here alludes to Gods image which men were made after. This being something hard, the former Translator hath left quite out, wisely. Here perchance S. Austen saith the use of pictures of holy things, used in blind devotion by some private men of his time. For the Church hitherto knew no images.*

hutes are conueighed into their cunning hands; which all descend from that beauty, which is above our souls, which my soul day & night sighs after. But as for these framers and followers of those outward beauties, they from thence derive the manner of using them, but fetch not from thence the measure of using them. And yet there it is (though they perceive it not) that they might not go too far to seek it, but might preserve their strength only for thee, and not wear it out upon trying vanities. But for my own part; (who both discern upon, and well discern these things) I verily bend my steps towards these outward Beauties: but thou pluckest me back, O Lord, thou pluckest me back; because thy mercy is before mine eyes. For I am miserably taken, and thou as mercifully pluckest me back; and that sometimes when I perceived thee not; because I had too earnestly settled my thoughts upon them: and otherwhiles relieved to part with them, because my affections had already cleaved to them.

CHAP. XXXV.

Of our Curiosity in Knowing.

UPON this, another forme of temptation assails me; and that many wayes more dangerous. For besides that concupiscence of the flesh which lurketh in the delight of all our Senses and pleasures, (which those that are slaves unto, be wed in love with; those namely, that withdraw themselves farre from thee:) there is conueighed into the soule by the same Senses of the body,

the body, a certain vain and curious itch; not of delight taking in the flesh, but of making experiments by help of the flesh; which is masked under the title of *Knowledge* and *Learning*. Which, because it is seated in the naturall *Appetite* of *Knowing*, and that for the attaining of knowledge, the eyes be the principal of all the Sences; is in holy Writ called, *The lust of the eyes*, 1 Joh. 2. 16. For, to see, belongeth unto the eyes properly; yet we apply the word of *Seeing* to other senses also, whenever we imploy them towards *knowing*. For we do not say, Heark how red it is, or smell how white it is, or taste how shining it is, or feeble how bright it is; because all these are said to be seen: and yet we say not only, See how it shineth, which the eyes alone can percieve; but we say also, See how it soundeth, See how it smelleth, See how it tasteth, See how hard it is. The generall experience of the Sences thereof is it, (as was said before) which is called *The lust of the eyes*; for that the office of *Seeing*, wherein the Eyes hold the prerogative, do the other Sences by way of similitude usurpe unto themselves, whensoever they make search after any knowledge.

2. But by this may the difference evidently be discerned, betwixt the pleasure and the *Curiosity* that be acted by the Sences; for that pleasure affecteth *Objects* that be beautifull, clear-sounding, sweet-smelling, savoury-tasted, soft-touching; whereas *Curiosity* for tryals sake, pryeth into *Objects* clean contrary to the former; not to engage it self in the trouble they bring but meerly out of an itch of gaining the knowledge and experience of them. For what pleasure hath it, to see that in a torne ear-calc,

case, which would strike horror into a man; and yet if any such be neer lying, they all flock to it, even of purpose to be made sad, and to grow pale at it; being afraid also lest they should see it in their sleep: as if some body had forced them to go and see it while they were awake, or any report of the fine sight had perswaded them unto it. And thus is it in the other senses also, all which it were too long to prosecute. And out of this disease of curiosity, are all those strange sights presented to us in the *Theater*. Hence men proceed to make discovery of those concealed powers of nature, (which is besides our end) which does them no good to know, and wherein men desire nothing but to know. Hence proceeds that also, if our end be the same outward end of knowing, the *Mystical Arts* be made use of to enquire by. Upon this curiosity also even in Religion it self, is God tempted when (namely) certain signes and wonders from heaven are demanded of him: not desired for any *saving* end, but meerly for our experience.

3. In this so vast a wilderness, so full of snares and dangers; see how many of them I have run off, and thrust out of my heart, according as thou, O God of my salvation, hast given me the grace to do. And yet for all this, when is the time that I dare boldly say, (so many of this kind of things daily importuning this life of ours:) when may I boldly say, that my self is by no such like thing, provoked to look towards it, or out of a vain desire to covet it? True it is, that the *Theaters* do not now adays carry me away; nor do I much now regard to know the courses of the stars; nor hath my soul at any time enquired answers at the Ghosts departed: all

facrilegious compacts I utterly detest. But at thy hands, O Lord my God, to whom I owe all humble and single-hearted service, by what fetches of suggestions hath that *spirituall Enemy* dealt with me to desire some signe?

4. But * by our King I beseech thee, and by that country of *Jerusalem* so pure and chaste; that like as thy consenting unto such thoughts hath been hitherto far enough from me, so ever let it be further and further. But for the health of any when I come at thee, the end of my intention then is far different from the former: and thy self doing what thou pleasest in it, givest me the grace, and willingly thou wilt give me, to obey it. Notwithstanding in how many petty and contemptible trifles is this *curiosity* of ours daily tempted; and how often we do thus our way, who is able to recount? How often, when people tell vain stories, do we at first bear with them, as it were for fear of giving offence to the weak; and yet by degrees by and by, we willingly give eare to them? I become not the *prelator* now a dayes of a Dogs courling of a Hare in our *publike* game-place: but if in the field I by chance ride by, such a sport may peradventure put me off from some serlouiser thought, and draw me after it: not to turn out of the road with the body of my horse, but yet with the inclination of my heart: yea, and didst not thou, by making me see my infirmity on the sudden, give me a private item;

* This zealous *Obsession* is like that in our *Letany*, By thine Agony, &c. Had this been thought *Confusing*; St. Austen who here detests such compacts, would not so soon have aided it, or would have *Retrued* it. ¶ In Circo.

or upon the light it self; by some contemplation to raise my self towards thee, wholly to despise and passe it by; vain I should presently be besotted with it.

5. What shall I say, whenas sitting in mine own house, a Lizard catching flies, or a Spider entangling them in her nets, oft-times makes me too intentive to them? Because these are but small creatures, is the curiosity in me the lesse? I proceed hereupon to laud Thee the wonderfull Creator and disposer of all; but that is not the occasion of my beginning to be intentive to them. One thing it is to get up quickly, and another thing, not to fall at all. And of such toyes, is my life full; and my onely hope is in thy wonderfull great mercy. For when this heart of ours is made the *Receipt* of such things, and over-charges it self with the throngs of this superabundant vanity; then are our Prayers thereby often interrupted and distracted; and whilest in thy presence we direct the voice of our heart up unto thine eares; that so important business is broken off, by I know not what idle thought, rushing in upon us.

CHAP. XXXVI.

The sinne of Pride.

1. **B**UT did I account of this also, amongst such things as are to be contemned? or shall ought bring us back to our hope, but the whole Summe of thy mercy, such thou it is that hath

begun to change us? And in what degree thou hast already amended me, thy self best know'st; who didst first of all recover me from that burning desire of revenging my self: that so thou mightest the better be favourable unto all mine other iniquities, and heal all my infirmities, and redeem my life from corruption; and crown me with thy pity & mercy, and satisfie my desire with good things: even because thou hast curbed my pride with thy feare, and tamed my neck to thy yoke. Which now I bear, and it is light unto me; because so hast thou promised; and so hast thou made it: and verily so it was, but I knew it not, for that I feared to take it.

But tell me now, O Lord, (thou who onely reignest without the fesse of pride; because thou only art the true Lord; who hast no Lord;) tell me, hath this kind of temptation given me over, or can I altogether forbear me in this life; this namely, *To desire to be feared and loved of men, and that for no other end, but that we may receive a private rejoicing in it?* which indeed is no true joy. A miserable life this is, and a dishonorable kind of bragging. For hence especially it comes, *Jam. 4. 6. That men do neither purely love, nor feare thee.* And even therefore too dost thou resist the proud, and givest grace to the humble; yea, thou thunderest down upon the ambitious designs of this world, and the foundations of the mountains tremble at it. Because now of performing certain offices amongst humane society, it is necessary both to be loved and feared of men, even therefore doth the adversary of our true blessednesse lay hard at us, every where spreading his snares of *well-done, well-done;* which whilst we

we too eagerly gather up, we may be unawares taken in them, and brought to disioynt our re-joycing from thy truth, and to serue it in the de-ceiving opinions of men; pleasing our selves with being loved and feared, not for thy sake, but in thy stead: by which device the *adversary* may make us his owne; we being so neerly conformed unto him already; nor joynd with him in any concord of charity; but into the fellowship of punishment: *men of him*, who aspired to *advance his Throne in the North*, Isa 14 13. that people following him in his wrye and crooked wayes, and become all darkened & befrozen, might be made his vassals. 3. But we, O Lord, behold, we are thy little flock; keep thou still the possession of us: stretch thy wings over us, and let us fly under them. Be thou our glorying; Let us be beloved for thy sake, and let thy Word be feared in us. Whoever is ambitious to be commended of men, when thou discommendest him; let him not be defended of men, when thou judgest him; nor delivered, when thou condemnest him. When now a sinner missees of his so cordially desired commendations, and the evill doer hath not the good word of the people; on the contrary; when another man being well spoken of for some good parts which thou hast given him; yet pleases himselfe better in the hearing of his own praises, then in the good parts for which he is commended: this man also as well as the other, is discommended by thee, even whilest he is commended by men. Yea, better is the *commender* then the *commended*: seeing to the one, the gift of God bestowed on man was pleasing; but the other was better pleased with the gift of man, then of God.

CHAP. XXXVII.

Praise and dispraise, how they move us.

1. **A**Sailed daily we are by these temptations, O Lord; yea we are assaulted incessantly. The furnace we be daily tryed in, is the tongue of men. And in this kind also thou commandest us to be continent. Give what thou commandest, and command what thou wilt. Thou knowest what grows in my heart, and floods mine eyes, send up unto thee for this. For easily can I not discern how cleansed I am, more or lesse, from this pollution; yea, and do I much feare my secret sinnes, which thine eyes perceive well enough, though mine cannot. For in other kinds of temptations I have the ability (such as it is) of thorowly examining my self; but in this, scarce any at all. For, from the pleasures of the flesh; and from the superfluous curiosity of knowing, I well perceive how much I have gained upon my self, in the refraining of my minde: whereas (namely) I want the things themselves; or the will, when the things are away; or the Necessity, when they are not to be had: For then can I ask my selfe how troublesome it is unto me more or lesse, not to have them. But as for riches, which are for this end desired, that they may serve a man in some one of these three * *Concupiscences*, or in any two, or all of them; if the soule be not able to discern, whether, when it hath them, it can condemn them; they may be cast aside, that a man may make experience of himself that way.

* The lust of the eye, the lust of the flesh; or the pride of life. 1. John 2. 16.

2. But for the enabling of our selves to want praise, and for making tryall what we can do in that kind, is it our course to live ill, so desperately and out of all compasse, that every body that knowes us, may detest us? What madder trick can either be said, or thought of? But now if Praise both affects, and ought to be the companion of a good life and of good works, we ought as little to forget that Company, as this good life. For I neither know, whom I can well be without, or how well or ill contented, unlesse when he is absent. What shall I therefore confesse unto thee in this kind of temptation. O Lord? What, but that I am very much delighted with mine own praises: but yet with the *truth*, more then with the praises: for were I put to my choyce, Whether I would play the mad-man, or the foole in every thing, and be generally commended for it; or be well sexed and most assured of being in the rights, and be generally discommended for it: ——— I see straight what I would choose.

3. Yet unwilling I am, that the praise given me by another mans mouth, should encrease my joy for any good I have; and yet doth praise not onely encrease it, but *dispraise* doth diminish it. And when much troubled I am at this hard case of mine, I presently bethinke my self of an excuse; which how sufficient it is, God thou knowest, for it leaves mee uncertaين. And for because thou hast not commanded it: *Continency* alone, that is, from what things we should refraine our love: but Justice also; that is, which way we should bestow that love: and, that it is not thy

will to have us love her only, but our neighbour also; do I oftentimes seem unto my self to be delighted with the proficiency or towardliness of my neighbour, when I am delighted with the commendations given me by him, that understands what he sayes; and I am sorry again for this want in him, when I hear him *dispraise* either that which he understands not, or what is good. For I am sometimes very sorry at mine own praises, when (namely) those things be praised in me, in which I mislike my self, or that lesser and lighter good things in me are more esteemed, then in reason they ought to be.

4. But how again come I, to know this? am I therefore thus affected, because I would not have my *commander* dissent from me in things that concern my self; not for that I am moved with the care of his good, but for that the same good things in me which very well please me, are the more pleasing to me, when they are so also to *another*? For in some sort I am not then praised, when mine own judgment of my self is not commended: for as much as either those things are praised, which please me not at all; or those are too much commended, which please me but a little. Am I therefore uncertain of my self in this matter? Behold, O Truth, in thee I see it; that I ought not so much to be moved at mine own praises; for mine own sake, as for the good of my neighbour. And whether so I be, or not, verily I know not. For I know lesse of my selfe in this, then *Thou* dost.

5. I beseech now, O my God, discover me unto my self, that I may confesse unto my brethren who are

are to pray for me, what I now find my self defective in. Once again let me more diligently ask my selfe, if I be moved with the good of my brethren in mine own praises, why then am I lesse moved at another mans being unjustly discommended then at mine own? Why am I more nettled with that reproach which is cast upon my self, then at that which is cast upon another in my presence, for the same fault? Am I ignorant of this also? or is this it at last that I should now seduce my self, and neither think nor speak what is Truth before thee? This madness put far from me, O Lord, lest mine own mouth prove the *oyl of sinners* unto me to break my bread. I am poor and needy: yet in better case, whilest in my private groaning I displease my self, and seek for thy mercy; untill my wants be supplied, and perfectly made up into such an estate of peace, which the eye of the proud is not acquainted withall.

CHAP. XXXVIII.

Virtue is endangered by Vain glory.

THe report of the peoples mouths, and our own famously known actions, carry along with them that most dangerous temptation of the love of praise: which, for the advancing of a certain private excellency of our own, endeavours to draw unto it self the poorly beg'd voyces of the people: And that, at such time too, when as I lay a heavier blame upon my self for it: yea, even in that very particular, for which I reprehend it. For what a greater vanity does a man glory oftentimes

of

of his contemning of *vain-glory*; for which reason he cannot be said to glory, in his contempt of *vain-glory*: for He does not truly contemn it, who inwardly glories at it.

CHAP. XXXIX.

Of self-love.

THERE is yet another privy disease in the same kind of temptation, wherewith such people puffe themselves up, as take pleasure in themselves, however others be pleased or displeased; they little regarding to please other folks. These may please themselves; but they do they displease highly: not only for pleasing themselves in things not good, as if they were good; but also for so doing in thy gifts, as if they were their own; or if as thine, yet as given them for their own merits; or, if also as proceeding from thy meer grace, and not their deservings; yet not as neighbourly rejoycing, but as envying others for it. In all these perils and travels, and others of the like kind, thou seest. O Lord, a trembling of my heart: yea and I well feel my wounds to be by thy self rather cured in me, then not inflicted upon me.

CHAP. XL.

His striving against Jane.

WHERE hast thou not gone along with me, O thou Truth, teaching me both what to beware, and what to desire; when I once made report unto thee of the survey I had taken of these things!

things below; (so well as I could) and askt thy advice upon them? With my outward senses, so well as I might) I took a *muster* of this world; being heedfull above all; unto this bodily life of mine, these Sences of mine own. Thence turned I inwardly into the *withdrawing chambers* of my memory; those manifold large rooms, so wonderfully well furnished of innumerable varieties; I considered, and stood amazed; being able to discern nothing without thy help, yet finding none of all these to be thy self. Nor was I the *finder* of these things, I, who went them over all, and who now laboured to distinguish and to value every thing according to its proper worth; taking something upon the reports of my Sences, and working out other things that were of a mixt nature, by way of *Dialogue* with mine own self; yea and taking particular notice & tale of the Reports themselves, & anon throughly canvassing over those other things laid up in the large treasury of my memory, storing up some of them there again, and for my use drawing out the rest.

2. Neither was I my self who did all this, (that is, that ability of mine own by which I did it) nor was that ability it self, the same that thou art: for thou art that never-failing light, which concerning all these I still advised withall, *whether* they were, *what* they were, and *how* to be valued they were. For I overheard thee directing and commanding me: and this I do very often. This it delights me; yea and so far as I can get loose from what necessity laies upon me, unto this plea-

The Sences both outward and inward.

sure

sure have I recourse. For in all these which I thus run over by thy directions, can I not find any one safe place to settle my soul in, but in *thy self* only; into whom let all my scattered pieces be gathered together, nor let any thing of mine be turned back from thee. At some times thou inwardly infusest into me a delight, that I am not usually acquainted with, a sweetnesse of I know not what kind: which could it be once perfected in me, it should be I know not what manner of height, which this life shall never arrive unto. But by certain cumbersome weights am I rumbled down again, yea quite swallowed up by mine *old wonts*, and fast holden by it: much doe I bewail my self, yet strongly am I still held down. Such power hath the burthen of a bad custome, to overload a man. In this estate I am able to stay, but unwilling: in the other I would willingly be, but am not able: thus am I miserable in both conditions.

CHAP. XLI.

God and a lye cannot stand together.

I Considered therefore the ill-disposed habite of my Sin, in that threefold concupiscence, and I called thy right hand to my help. With a wounded heart have I beheld thy *Brightnesse*; and being beaten back, I said, *who can attain t hither?* I am cast away from the sight of thine eyes; Thou art the *Truth* which fittest president over all. Loth I was through my covetousnesse, to forgoe thee; but gladly would I together with thee, have pos-

the lust of the flesh, the lust of the eye, and the pride of life.
1 Joh. 2. 16.

selfed

lessed a lye: like as no man there is so desirous to speak falsely, as that himself may be hindred by it from knowing the truth. Verily therefore have I lost thee, because thou vouchsafest not so be employed together with a lye.

CHAP. XLII.

Angels cannot be our Mediators.

WHOM could I find to reconcile my selfe unto thee by? was that office to be undertaken by an Angel? upon what prayers? by what sacraments? Many a man endeavouring to return unto thee, and being not able of himself; hath, as I hear, made trial of this way: but hath fallen into the desire of curious visions; being worthy therefore to be deluded. For they being high minded, have sought thee in the pride of their learning, strutting out rather, then knocking upon their breasts; and so by the agreement of their hearts, have they drawn unto themselves the *Printer of the Ayre*, their fellow-conspirators in pride; by whom, through the force of *Magick*, they were deceived, even while they sought for a Mediator, * by whom they might be purged; but there was none to be found; For the Devil it was, transfiguring now himself into an Angel of light.

* Here my Popish Translator thinks himselfe subtle in offering that distinction (as common say the *Catholicks*) of Mediators of Intercession, (which office he affirms the Angels may have) and of Redemption, which he is content to allow Christ. But St. Austin here speaks of none but evil Angels. Though the Papists have many Mediators, yet I never thought they would have had The Devil and all.

r. Many

2. Many wayes therefore was he able to entice proud fleſh, for that himſelf was not of any fleſhly body. For fleſhly men were mortall, and ſinfull bairhou, Lord, to whom they this proud way ſought to be reconciled, are immortal, and without ſin. A mediator (now) between God and man, muſt have ſomething like unto God, and ſome thing like unto men; leſt, that being like unto man in both natures, he ſhould be too far unlike God: or if like unto God in both natures, he ſhould be too far unlike unto men: & ſo be a *Mediator* neither way. * That *deceiſfull Mediator* therefore, by whom in thy ſecret judgement mans pride deſerved to be deluded, hath one thing indeed commond with himſelf to men, and that is *ſin*: and deſires to ſeem to communicate in another thing with God; that becauſe he is not cloathed with any *mortality* of fleſh, he might thereby vaunt himſelf to be immortal. But for that *the wages of ſin is death*, Rom. 6. this hath he common to himſelf with men, for which he might together with them be condemned unto death.

* The devil.

CHAP. XLIII.

*Chriſt only is the all-ſufficient * Interceſſour.*

But the true *Mediator*, whom out of thy ſecret mercie thou haſt ſhewed forth unto the

* This Title is ſet againſt the new Popes diſtinction above rehearſed, who call Chriſt the *Interceſſor*, *Interceder*, *Interſeſſor*, and not *Angel*. And therefore hath the popes Tranſlator changed *Interceſſor* into *Mediator*. 1. Tim. 2. 5.

humble

humble; and whom thou senest, that by his ex-
 ample they might learn the true humility; that
 Mediator therefore between God and man, the
 man Christ Jesus, appeared betwixt mortall sinners
 and the immortall Just One: being mortall as men,
 and just like God: that because the reward of
 righteousness is life and peace, he might by his
 righteousness which was joyned to God, make
 good the death of as many of the wicked as were
 by him justified; which death, his will was to
 have common both to them and him. He was shew-
 ed forth unto Holy men of old; to the intent that
 they might be saved, through faith in his passion
 to come, like as we are through faith of it already
 called. For how far forth he was a man, so far
 forth was he a Mediator: but so far forth as he is
 the Word, he is not merely midway to God, be-
 cause he is equall unto God, and God with God,
 and together with the Holy Ghost one God.
 How hast thou loved us, O good Father, that
 thou hast not spared thine onely Son, but hast delivered
 him unto death for us wicked men? how hast thou
 loved us; for whom, He that thought it no robbery
 to be equall with God, was made subject unto
 death, even the death of the crosse & Phil. 2, 6, 8.
 He that was onely free among the dead, Psal. 88. 5.
 He that had power to lay down his life, and power to
 take it again: John 10. 18. for us was he unto
 us both the Conquerour, and the Sacrifice: yea
 and therefore the Conquerour, because the Sacri-
 fice: For us was he unto thee both Priest and Sa-
 crifice: and therefore the Priest, because the Sa-
 crifice: of slaves making us thy children, by
 being born of thee, and by becoming a servant
 unto.

unto us. Deservedly therefore is my hope strongly
 settled upon him; that thou wilt by him cure all our
 infirmities: even by him that sits at thy right hand
 and maketh intercession for us; whereas otherwise
 I should despair utterly. For many and great are
 those infirmities of mine; yea many they are, and
 great; but thy medicine is more sovereign.

I imagine we might, that the Word was far enough
 from being united with man; and so despaire of
 our selves, unlesse it had been made flesh and dwelt
 amongst us. Affrighted thus with mine own sinner
 and the burthen of mine own misery, I cast these
 thoughts in my heart, bethinking my self of fleeing
 into the *Wildernesse*: but thou forbaddest me, and
 strengthenedst me, saying: *Therefore Christ dyed*
for all, that they which live may now no longer live
unto themselves, but unto him that dyed for them.
 See, Lord, I henceforth cast all my care upon thee,
 that I may live, and consider thee *wonderfull thing*
of thy Law. Thou knowest both my unskillfulness
 and my infirmities; O teach me, and heale me.
 That only Sonne of thine, in whom are hid all the
 treasures of wisdom and knowledge, 2 Cor. 3. 14.
 Col. 2. 3; hath redeemed me with his blood. Let
 not the proud speak evil of me; for that I med-
 itate upon the price of my redemption, and do eat
 and drinke, and give unto the poor; and being poor
 my self, desire to be filled by him; amongst them
 that eat and are satisfied, and they shall praise the Lord
 who seek him, Psal. 32. 26.

* Here the other Translator takes occasion to extoll the
 perfection of *Eremites* that live in the *Wildernesse*. But
 there is place fit for that, which shewes that *S. Austin* was
 blinded by God himself.

**SAINT
AUGUSTINE'S
Confessions.**

The Eleventh Book.

CHAP. I.

Why we confesse unto God who knowes all.

Anst thou that art the Lord of all eternitiy, be ignorant of what I say unto thee? or dost thou see but for a time, that which passeth in time? To what end then do I lay in order before thee so many nations? not to this end do I it, that thou mightest come to know them upon my relation, but thereby stirre up mine own and my Readers devotion towards thee, that we may say all together, *Gratias agimus tibi Domine, et greatly to be praised, Ps. 16. 4.* Now have I said, and again say it I will, For the love of the love make I this Confession. For we use to pray thus: and yet Truth it self hath said, *Your Father knoweth what you have need of, before you ask.* This affection therefore which we hereby lay open unto.

unto thee, while we confesse our own miseries, and thy mercies open us, that thou mightest thereunto set us free, seeing already thou hast begun to make us leave to be wretched in our selves, and to be happy in thee: seeing thou hast called us, that we may become poor in spirit, and meek, and mournfull, and hungry, and thirstie after righteousness, and mercifull, and pure in heart, and peace-makers. Mark See, I have told thee many things, such as I could, and such I was desirous to do; because thou desirest first that I should confesse unto my Lord God *For thou art good, and that thy mercy endureth for ever.* Psal. 128.

CHAP. II.

He seeketh to be delivered from his sins and errors, and to be guided unto the true knowledge.

But when shall I be able with the pen of my tongue to set forth all thy Exhortations, and all thy terrours, and comforts, and directions, by which thou hast brought me up to be a Preacher of thy Word, and a Dispenser of thy Sacraments unto thy people? If I now be able to declare those things to thee in order, the very drops of time are precious with me; and I have long since had a burning desire to meditate in thy law; and by it to confesse both my skill and unskillfulness unto thee, the morning light of thy enlightning me, and the reliques of darknesse in me, so long as

He alludes to the Houre-glasses of his time, which were by water, as ours do now by sand.

maining

nothing swallowed up by, till infirmity be strength.
 will I suffer my houres to be squandered
 upon any other thing, which I find free from
 necessities of refreshing of my body, and
 recreating of my minde, and the complying
 those offices of service which wee owe unto
 thee; yea also which we owe not, and yet pay
 thee.

Give care unto my prayer, O Lord my God,
 and let thy mercy hearken unto my petition: be-
 cause it striveth not to entreat for my self alone,
 but to be beneficial also to my brethren. Thou
 hast my heart, that so it is; and that I am ready
 to sacrifice unto thee the best service of my
 thoughts and tongue: now give me, what I am
 to offer unto thee. For I am poor and needy,
 but thou art rich to all those that call upon thee;
 Mal. 6. Rom. 10. who not distracted with cares
 of self, takest the care of all us. From all rash-
 ness and lying, do thou circumsise both my in-
 ward and my outward lips: Let my chaste delights
 be my Scriptures: let me neither be deceived in
 them, nor deceived by them. Hearken Lord, and
 have mercy upon me, O Lord my God, O thou
 light of the blind, and the strength of the weak,
 and also the light of those that see, and the strength
 of the strong; hearken thou unto my soule, and
 have mee crying unto thee out of the Deepe.
 For if thine eares be not with us also in the Deep,
 whither then shall wee goe? to whom shall wee
 cry? — The day is thine, and the night is thine,
 Mal. 74. 16. — at thy beck the time passeth
 away.

2. Afford out of it some spare time, for my meditations upon the hidden things of thy Law; which I beseech thee shut not up when they knock for entrance at it. For in vain it was not, that thou wouldest have so many leaves full of darksome secrets committed unto writing: nor are those Foxes without their Harts which retire themselves into them, making their range and walks in them: feeding, lodging, and chewing the Cud in them. Perfect me, O Lord, and reveale them unto me. Behold, thy voyce is my joy; yea thy voyce exceedeth the abundance of all pleasures. Give me what I love: for verily I do love it; and this love is of thy giving: Forsake not therefore thine own gifts, nor despise^{*} thou him that thirsteth after thy herbage. Let me *confesse* unto thee whatsoever I shall find in thy books; and let me hear the voyce of praise; and let me drink thee up; and let me consider of the *wonderfull things of thy Law*, even from the very *Beginning*; wherein Thou madest the heaven and the earth, unto that everlasting kingdome of thy holy City which is before thee. Have mercy, Lord, upon me, and hear my petition: for it is not I suppose of the earth, nor for gold and silver, or precious stones, or gorgeous apparell, or honours and offices, or the pleasures of the flesh, or necessities for the body, or for this life of our earthly pilgrimage: *all which shall be added unto those that seek thy kingdome and thy righteousness.* Mat. 6. 33. Behold, O Lord my God, what it is that

^{*} *Non herbam tuam spernas sitientem.* This he translates, *Not despise thou this withering grasse of mine, which thirsteth for thy grace.* Whereas S. Austin still follows this conceit of the Foxes and Harts, with all alluding to Psal. 42. 2.

now desire. The ungodly have sometimes told me
that themselves delight in it; but they are not like
the delights of thy Law. See now whence my de-
sire proceeds.

4. See, *Father*, behold and approve; and let it be pleasing in the sight of thy mercy, that I shall find much grace with thee, as that the *Secrets* of thy word may be opened unto me when I knock. By our Lord *Jesus Christ* thy Sonne I beseech thee, that *standing at thy right hand*, that *Some of man*, whom thou hast appointed a *Mediator* betwixt thy selfe and us, by whom thou soughtest us, who little sought for thee: yet didst thou seek us, that we might seek thee and thy word by whom thou madest all things, and me amongst them; Thy *Onely Sonne* by whom thou hast called the believing people unto thee, and me amongst them: by Him I beseech thee, *standing at thy right hand*, and makes intercession for us, *in whom are hid all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge*, Col. 2. 3. Him do I seek in thy books: Him *Moses* wrote; this *He* sayes, this *Truth* sayes.

CHAP. III.

He desires to understand the holy Scriptures.

Let me heare and understand how thou in the
beginning hast made Heaven and Earth. This
Ioseph wrote of; he wrote and passed away, he
passed from hence unto thee: for he is not at this
instant before mine eyes; for if he were, then
would I lay hold of him and intreat him, and for
his sake would I beseech him to open these things
unto

unto me: yea I would lay mine eares unto his mouth. But should he speak in the *Hebrew* tongue, in vain should he beat mine eares, for never should he come neer my understanding: whereas if he spake Latine, I should well enough know what he said.

2. But how should I know whether he said true or no? and if I could learn this too, should I know it by him? For within me, in that inward house of my thoughts, neither the *Hebrew*, nor the *Greek*, nor the *Latine*, nor any other language, but even Truth itself, and that without any helps of the mouth and tongue, without any sound of syllables should tell me *He sayes true*; and my selfe thereupon assured of it, would confidently say unto that servant of thine, *Thou speakest truth*. Seeing I have not now the means to conferre with *Moses*, I beg of thee my God (Inspired by whom he uttered these truths) I beg of thee the pardon of my sinners and thou that enabledst that servant of thine to deliver these truths, enable me also to understand them.

* Though in *Plinius* time the *Hebrew* were the vulgar language of *Affrica*, and that there be 6. or 7. *Hebrew* words still to be found in *St. Austen's* works, yet in those 600. years betwixt *Plinius* and *St. Austen*, and by the *Romanes* enforcing the Provinces to learn Latine, was the *Hebrew* almost lost, and corrupted in *Africa*, that at the most, the tongues did but agree in most words, as *Austen* sayes, l. 1. *Contra Petil. litter.* c. 104. which agreement yet was not so much, that the natives of *Affrica* could naturally understand *Hebrew*. The other Translator rather abuses *St. Austen* when he credit him, in allowing him to have skill in *Hebrew*.

CHAPTER IV.

Behold, the heavens and the earth are already made: they proclaim themselves so, have been created: for they are changed and altered from what they were. Whereas whatsoever is not made, and yet hath a being, hath nothing in it now, which it had not before: which so have, were indeed to be changed and altered. They proclaim also, that they made not themselves: we say, Therefore we are, because we are made, and therefore were we not, before our time was: for, if we could possibly have made our selves. Now the evidentness of the thing, is this voice of the Speakers. 'Tis thou therefore, O Lord, that madest them: thou who art full of beauty, they being fair also; that who art good, they also being good: yea, Thou who hast feeling, feeling these have their Beings: yet are they neither so fair, so good, nor so, as thou their Creatour art; compared with whom, they are neither fair, nor good, nor are at all. Thus much we know, thanks to thee for it: yet is our knowledge, in comparison of thine, but meer ignorance.

CHAPTER V.

How the world was made of nothing.

In the beginning God made Heaven and Earth. But how didst thou make them? and what Engine

gine hadst thou to work all this vast fabrick of thine? For thou wentest not about it like a fleshy Artificer, who shaping one body by another, purposes according to the discretion of his mind, to cast it into such a figure, as in his fancie he seeth first by his inward eye. But whence should he be able to do all this, unless thou hadst made him that fancie? and he puts a figure upon some Material, that had existence before; suppose, clay, or stone, or wood, or gold, or other thing: but whence should these materials have their being, hadst not thou appointed it them? Tis thou that madest the Artificer his body, thou that gavest a soul to direct his limbs, thou madest the stuff of which he makes any thing; thou madest the apprehension whereby he takes his art, by which he sees in himself what he hath to do. Thou gavest him the Senses of his body; which being his Interpreters, he may from his mind unto his stuff, convey that figure which he is now a working; which is to signifie unto his mind again, what is done already; that the mind upon it may ask advice of its *President truth*, whether it be well done or no. Let all these things praise thee, the Creatour of these all.

2. But yet which way doest thou make them? how, O God, didst thou make heaven and earth? Verily, neither in the heaven, nor on the earth stoodst thou, when thou madest heaven and earth: no, nor yet in the air, or waters, seeing these also belong unto the heaven and the earth. Nor yet standing in the whole world together, didst thou make that whole world; because there was no place where to make it, be for it was made, that

that it might have a Being. Nor didst thou hold any thing in thy hand, whereof to make this Heaven and earth: For how shouldst thou come by that, which thy self hadst not made? For what hath any Being, but onely because thou art? Therefore thou spakest, and they were made; and in thy word thou madest them.

CHAP. VI.

He disputes curiously, what manner of Word, the World was created by.

1. **B**UT how didst thou speak? after the same way that the voice came out of a Cloud, saying, *This is my beloved Son.* As for that voice, it was uttered, and passed away, had a beginning and ending; the syllables made a sound and so passed over; the second after the first, the third after the second, and so forth in order, untill the last came after all the rest, and silence after the last. By which most clear and plain it is, that the motion of a creature expressed it, performing thy eternal Will in it, it self being but temporal. And these words of thine thus made to serve for the time, did the outward ear give notice of unto the intelligent soul, whose inward ear lay listening to thy eternal Word. But when as this latter had compared these words thus sounding within a proportion of time, with that eternal Word of thine, which is in the Silence; it said, This Word is far another from that, a very far different Word, these words are far beneath me, nay they are not at all,

R 2

because

because they flee and passe away; but the Word of God is far above me, and abides for ever.

2. If therefore in sounding and passing words, thou spakest that heaven and earth should be made; and that way didst create heaven and earth: then was there a *corporeal creature* even before heaven and earth, by whose motions measured by time, that voice took his course in time. But there was not any creature before heaven and earth; or if there were, surely then thou didst, without such a passing voice create that, whereof thou mightest make this *passing voice*; by which thou wert to say the word, *Let the heaven and the earth be made.* For whatsoever that were, of which such a voice were to be made; unlesse by thy self it were made; it should not at all have any being. That a *body* therefore might be made, by which these words might be made; by what word of thine was it commanded?

CHAP. VII.

The Son of God is the Word coeternal with the Father.

Thou callest us therefore to understand the *Word*; who is God, with thee God: which word is spoken unto all *eternity*, and in it are all things spoken unto *everlasting*. For never is that finished which was spoken; or any other thing spoken after it; that so all may come to be spoken; but all are spoken at once, and unto *everlasting*. For otherwise there should be *time* and *alteration*; and

and no true *eternity*, no true *immortality*. Thus much I know; O my God, thanks to thee therefore. This I know, as I *confesse* to thee, O Lord, yea he knows and blesses thee as I do, whoever is not unthankfull to thy assured *Verity*.

2. We know, Lord, we know, that in as much as any thing is not now, what sometimes it hath been: or is now, what heretofore it hath now been, so far forth it is born, and dyes. Nothing therefore of thy *word* doth retire, and come in place again: because it is truly *immortal* and *eternal*. And therefore unto thy *word* coeternal unto thy self, thou dost once and for ever say all that thou dost say; and it is made, whatever thou sayest shall be made. Nor dost thou make it otherwise then by *saying*: and yet are *all* things made together, or everlasting, which thou makest by *saying*.

CHAP. VIII.

The word of God is our teacher in all.

1. **W**HY I beseech thee, O Lord my God, is this so? Verily I see it after a sort, but how to expresse it, I know not, unlesse thus it be: namely, that whosoever begins to be, and leaves off, so he begins then, and leaves off then, when in thy *eternal reason* it is resolved, that it ought to have begun or left off: in which Reason nothing does either begin, or leave off. That Reason is thy Word, which is also the Beginning, the same that likewise speaks unto us. Thus much

And it in the Gospel, by our Lords humanity: and so much founded outwardly in the ears of men, to the intent it might be believed and sought for inwardly, and found in the eternal verity; where that good and onely Master taught all his Disciples. There Lord, hear I thy voice speaking unto me; because he there speaks unto us, who teacheth us; but he that doeth not teach us, though he does speak, yet to us he speaketh not.

2. And who now is able to teach us, but the unalterable Truth? seeing that when we receive any admonishment from a mutable creature: we are but ledde along unto that unalterable Truth: where we learne truly, while we stand to hear Him, John 3. 29. *rejoycing greatly because of the Brides-rooms voice*: and return our selves back to that Truth, from whence we are derived. Which is therefore the beginning, because unlesse it should remain firm, there should not, when we erred, be any certainty whither to turn our selves unto. Now when we return from error, it is, by knowing (verily) that we do return: and that we may know, he teacheth us; because he is the Beginning, and speaketh unto us.

CHAP. IX.

How the word of God speaketh unto the heart.

1. **I**N this Beginning, O God, hast thou made heaven and earth, namely, in thy Word, in thy Power, in thy Wisdom, in thy Truth;

after

after a wonderfull manner *speaking*, and after a wonderfull manner *making*. Who is able to comprehend it? Who can declare it? What is that which shines thorow me, and strikes upon my heart without hurting it? at which I tremble with horror, and yet burn with love? I tremble, in as much as I am unlike unto it; I burn, in as much as I am like it.

2. 'Tis *Wisedome*, *wisedome* it is which thus shines into me; even breaking thorow my *Cloudnesse*: which yet again overshadows me now frequently fainting; even under the grosse fogge and heavy load of mine own pains. For my strength is pulled so low in this poore case of mine, as that I am not able to endure that which should be for my good; till thou, Lord, becoming *favourable* to all mine iniquities, pleasest to *heale* my diseases. Ps. 30. Ps. 102. For thou also shalt *redeem* my life from corruption, and shalt crown me with loving kindnesse and tender mercies: yea thou shalt *satisfie* my desire with good things, because my youth shall be *restored* like an Eagles, Psal. 103. 4. For by hope we are saved, Rom. 8. 24. wherefore we thorow patience await for thy promises. Let him that is able, hear thee inwardly discouraging to him. For my part, in the words of thine Oracle will I boldly cry out, *How wonderfull are thy works*, O Lord, in *wisedome* hast thou made them all; and this *wisedome* is that *beginning*: and in that *beginning* hast thou made heaven and earth.

Gods Will knows no beginning.

TOey, are they not full of their old leaven,
which demand of us; *How did God employ
himself before he made Heaven and Earth?* For if
he were un-employed (say they) and did no work,
why then does he not now from henceforth, and
for ever abstain from working, like as heretofore
he did? For did any new motion rise up in God,
and any new Will to make a creation; which he
had never made before? how can there be a true
eternity, where there rises up a new will, which
was not there before? For the will of God is not
a creature, but before every creature; seeing that
nothing could have been created, unless the will
of the Creator had been before it.

CHAP. XI.

Gods eternity not to be measured by the parts of time

THe Will of God therefore is belonging un-
to his Substance. And if ought be newly
risen up in Gods Substance, which was not there
before, thou cannot that Substance be truly said
to be eternall. Again, if the Will of God had
meant from eternity that there should be a Cre-
ation, why also was not that Creation from all e-
ternity? They that prate thus, do not yet under-
stand thee, (O thou Wisdome of God, thou light
of our Soules) they understand not yet how these
things be made: which by thee, and in thee are
made: yea they strive to relish eternall things,
though

though their heart be flickering hitherto between the motions of things partly passed, and partly to come, and be very uncertain hitherto.

2. Who is able to hold it hard to, and so to fix it, that it may be settled a while, and a little catch at a beam of light, from that ever-fixed eternity, and to compare it with the Times which are never fixed, that it may thereby perceive how there is no comparison between them: and how that a long time cannot be made long, but out of a many motions still passing onwards, which cannot at the same instant be drawn all together: and that all this while in the eternall nothing is sitting, but all at once present; whereas no time is all at once present: and that he may perceive all time passed, to be driven away by time to come; and all time to come, to follow upon the passed: and that all both passed and to come, is made up, and flows out of that which is alwayes present? Who now shall so hold fast this heart of man, that it may stay, and see, how that Eternity ever still-standing gives the word of command to the times passed or to come, it self being neither passed nor to come? Is this hand of mine able peradventure to make stay of this heart? It is the hand of my mouth by my perswasions able to bring about so important a businesse?

CHAP. XII.

CHAP. XII.

What God did before the creation of the world.

SEE, I now return answer to the demand,
What God did before he made heaven and earth.

R 5

But I will not answer so as one was faine to have done merrily (to break the violence of the question) *God was a preparing hell* (saith he) *for those that would pry into such profound mysteries.* It is one thing to look what God did, and another thing to make sport. This shall be none of my answer; rather had I answer, that *I know not*, what indeed I do not know, then answer so, as may make him laugh at, that askt such high questions; and the other commended, that returned so false an answer. But this I say, O our God; Creator* of every creature; and if under the name of heaven and earth, every creature be understood; then I will boldly say: *that before God made heaven and earth, he did not make anything.* For if he did, what did he make but a creature? And would to God I knew whatsoever I desired to know, to mine own profit, as well as I know this, That no creature was made, before there was made any creature.

**Read it Creator, and not Creatorem: and lay this sentence into the following, putting a Colon in stead of a Period.*

CHAP. XIII.

That before those times which God created, there was no time.

If any giddy brain now should wildly rove over the images of so epass'd times, and wonder with himself that thou the God omnipotent and All-creator, work-master of heaven and earth, didst for innumerable ages forbear to set upon such a work, before thou wouldst make it: let him wake himself and consider well: how that he wonders

at meer false conceits; For how should such innumerable ages passe over, which thou madest not; thou being the Author and Creator of all ages? or what times should these be, which were not made by thee? or how should they passe over, if so be they never were? Seeing therefore thou art the Creator of all times; if any time had passed before thou madest heaven and earth; why then is it said, that thou didst *rest from thy work*? For that very time didst thou make: nor could there any time passe over, before thou hadst made those times. But if before heaven and earth there were no time, why is it then demanded; *What thou then didst*? For there was no **T H E N**, whenas there was no time. Nor doest thou in **T i m e**, precede **T i m e**: for so thou shouldest not precede *all times*.

2. But thou goest before all time passed, by the high advantage of an *over-present Eternity*: and thou goest beyond all times to come, even because they are to come; seeing that they shall no sooner come, but they shall be past: whereas *thou art still the same*, and *by years passe not*, Psal. 102. 27. Thy years neither go nor come; whereas these years of ours do both go and come, that (in their order) they may all come. Thy years are in standing all at once, because they are still at a stay: nor are those that go, thrust out by those that come, for that they passe not away at all; but these of ours shall all be, even when they shall not all be. Thy years are one day, and thy day, is not every day, but *to day*: seeing thy *to day* gives not place unto *to morrow*, nor comes in place of *yesterday*. Thy *to day*, is *Eternity*: therefore didst thou b. get *Him* to eternall to thy self, unto whom thou saidst, *T h u*
day

day have I begotten thee. Thou hast made all times,
and before all times thou art: in which of any time
was there not a time?

CHAPTER XIV

Of the nature, and three differences of time.

1. *In no time* therefore didst thou not make any
thing: because very time it self is of thy ma-
king: and there be no times coeternall with thee,
for that thou still remainest the same. But should
they still be so, verily they should not be times.
For what is time? Who is able easily and briefly
to explain that? Who is able so much as in a con-
text to comprehend any one terme drawn from the
nature of time, aptly to expresse time by? What
now in our usuall discourse doe we more familiarly
and knowingly make mention of, then Time?
And surely, we understand it well enough, when
we speak of it: and we understand it so, when in
speaking with another, we hear it named.

2. What is time then? If no body asks me, I can
tell: but if I were desirous to explain it to one
that should ask me, plainly I cannot tell him.
Boldly for all this dare I affirme my self to know
thus much; that if nothing were already *passed*,
there should be no *past* time: and if there were no-
thing to *come*, there should be no time to *come*.

* This he translates, There was therefore no time, wherein thou
madest not somewhat.

and if there were nothing in present being, there should now be no present time: Those two times therefore, *passed* and *to come*, in what sort are they, seeing the *passed* is now no longer, and that *to come* is not yet? As for the *present*, should it alwayes be present, and never passe into time past? Verily it should not be *Time*, but *Eternity*. If the *present* (now) be given therefore, made *Time*, because it passeth into time past; how then can we say that it be, whole Cause of being is, to make it not to be? that we cannot forsooth affirme *Time* to have any being, but for this reason onely, that it goes onward to a not-being.

CHAP. XV.

No time can be said to be long.

AND yet we say, *Time is long, and time is short*, though neither do we speak this, but of the time *passed* or *to come*. A long time past, (for example) we call an hundred yeers since; and a long time *to come*, an hundred yeers hence. But a short time *passed*, we call (suppose) ten dayes since; and a short time *to come*, ten dayes hence. But in what sense is that either long or short, which at all, is not? For the *passed*, is not now; and the future, is not yet. Let us not therefore say, it is long; but of the past time let us say, It hath been long; and of the time *to come*, It will be long. O Lord, my God, my light, shall not thy truth laugh at men for this? For what *passed* time hath been long, when it was already *passed*, hath it been long, or when it

was yet present? For then was it in best possibility to be long, when that was in present being; which should be long. As for the passed time, it was now no longer; wherefore had that no possibility to be long; which had at all no being. Let us not therefore say, Time passed hath been long: for we shall never finde, what hath been long, seeing that ever since it was past, it is no more. But let us say, That present time hath been long, because, when it was present, then was it long. For having not hitherto passed away, that so it could not be; even therefore had it such a present being, as was in possibility to have been long; whereas after it was once past, that terme at once ceased to be long, which ceased to be at all.

2. Let us see therefore, O thou soule of man, whether yet the *present* time may be long: For to thee it is given to be sensible of the distances of time, and to measure them. What now wilt thou answer me? Are an hundred yeers in present, a long time? See first, whether an hundred yeers may be present, or no. For if the first of these yeers be now a running; that one is present indeed, but the other ninety and nine be to come; and therefore are not yet. But if the second yeer be now current, then is one past already, another in present being, and all the rest to come. And if we suppose any middle yeer of this hundred to be now present, all before it, are past; all after it, to come. Wherefore an hundred yeers cannot possibly be present. See again, whether that one which is now a running, be now presents, seeing that even of that, if the first moeth be now a running, then are all the rest to come: If the second, then is the first past, and the

rest not yet come on. Therefore, neither is the year now a spending; all present together: and if it be not all present; then is not the year present. For twelve moneths are a year; of which that one now running, is present; all the rest either past, or to come. Although neither is that moneth now a running, present; but one day of it onely: if the first, the rest are to come; if the last, the rest are past: if any of the middle, then is that between the past and the future.

2. See how the present time, (which only we found meet to be called long) is now abridged to the length scarce of one day. But let us examine that also; because not so much as one day is wholly present. For foure and twenty houres of night and day, do fully make it up: of which, the first hath the rest to come; the last hath them passed; and any of the middle ones hath those before it already past, those behind it yet to come; yea, that one houre is wasted out, in still-vanishing minutes. How much soever of it is flown away, is past; whatsoever remains behind, is to come. If any instant of time be conceived, which cannot be divided either into none; or at most into the smallest particle of moments; that is the onely it, which may be called present; which little, yet flies with such full speed from the future to the passed, as that it is not lengthened out with the very least stay. For lengthened out if it be, then is it divided into the past and the future. As for the present, it takes not up any space: where then is the Time, which we may call long? Is it to come? Surely, we do not say, that that is long; because that of it is not yet come which may be long; but say, *It will be long.*

When

When therefore will it be? For if even then, seeing that is yet to come, it shall not even then be long; because that of it which may be long, shall not be yet come. But if it shall onely then be long, when from a time to come (which is not yet) it shall begin now to be; and shall be made present, that so it may now be, that which may be long; then does the present time cry out in the words above rehearsed, *That it self can never become long.*

CHAP. XVI.

Of our measuring of times.

ANd yet, Lord, are we sensible of the distances of times; yea, we can compare them one with another, and say, that some are shorter, and others longer: We measure also, how much this time is longer or shorter then that; and we find this to be double, or thrice as long; and that but once; or this just so much as that. Yea, as the times are upon passing, do we measure them, when by casting them over our minds, we observe them. As for the past times, which now are not; or the future, which yet are not, who is able to measure them; unless perchance some one man be so bold to affirm, *That that may be measured, which is not?* All the while time is a passing, it may be observed and measured well enough: but when it is once passed, it possibly cannot, because it is not.

CHAR. XVII.

Where time past, and to come now are.

Ask, Father, I affirm nothing: tutour me,
TO my God; and direct me. Who is he that
 will tell me how there are not *three times*, as we
 warranted when we were boyes, and as we taught o-
 ther boyes, the *Past*, *Present*, and the *Future*; But
 the *Present* onely: because the other two are not
 all? Or have they a being also; but such as
 proceeds out of some unknown secret, when out
 of the *Future*, the *Present* is made; and returns it
 into some secret again, when the *Past* is made out
 of the *Present*? For where had they, who have fore-
 told things to come, before seen them, if as yet they
 be not? For that which is not, cannot be seen.
 And so for thoſe that should relate the things *Past*:
 surely they could not relate true stories, if in their
 mind they did not discern them. Which if they
 were none, could no way be discerned. There are
 therefore both things past and to come.

CHAR. XVIII.

How times passed, and to come, be now present.

YEt, give me leave, Lord, to look further.
 Suffer not, O thou my hope, my intentions
 be disturbed. If (now) there be times passed,
 times to come; fain would I know where they
 are, which yet if I be not able to conceive, yet
 much I know, that wheresoever they now
 are, they are not there in the nature of future,
 past,

past or present. For if there also future they be, then are they not there yet; if there also they be past, then are they not there still. Whosoever therefore, and whatsoever they be, they are in no other nature there, but as present. As for things passed, whenever true stories are related, they be then drawn out of our memory; not (I mean) the things themselves which are gone and past, but such words as being conceived by the images of those things; they, in their passing thorow our Sences, have, as their own footsteps, left imprinted in our minds. For example, Mine own Childhood, which at this instant is not, yet in the time past is, which time at this instant is not: but as for the image of it, when I call that to mind, and tell of it, I do even in the Present behold it: and that, because it is still in my memory.

2. Whether or no there be a like cause of foretelling things to come, that (namely) of those things which as yet are not, the images may in the present be fore conceived, as if already extant, I confesse unto thee, O my God, that I know not. This one thing surely I know; that we use very often to premeditate upon our future actions, and that that forethinking is present: but as for the action which we forethink our selves of, that is not yet in being, because it is yet to come. Which, so soon as we have set upon, and are beginning once to do what was premeditated; then shall that action come into being: because then it is no longer future, but present. Which way I

* I read it *Presentientur*. As the margin of one private copy directs me, and not *presentantur*. We have *presentantur* a few lines after.

Therefore this secret *Fore-conception* of things to come be held to be; nothing surely can be seen, but that which now is in being. As for that which is, it is not future, but present. Whenever therefore things to come are said to be seen, 'tis not the things themselves which as yet are not; that is, which are to come hereafter; but the causes, presence, or the signes of them which are seen; and these are indeed now in being. Future therefore they are not; but present unto the Secret: out of which these Future things *fore-conceived* in the minde, are foretold. Which *fore-conceptions* again are now present: yea, and those who foretell the things, do behold the *conceptions* already present before them.

Let now the numerous variety of things produce me some examples. I look upon the *day-breaking*, and I foreshew upon it, *that the Sun is about to rise*. That which I look upon, is present; that which I fore-signifie, is to come; not the Sun, I mean, which already is; but the Sun-rising which is not yet. And yet if I did not in my mind imagine the Sun-rising itself, (as now I do, whilest I speak of it) never could I foretell it. But neither is that *break of day* which I discern in the sky, the Sun-rising, notwithstanding it goes before it; no nor the imagination of my minde neither: which two are seen now in present, that the other may be foretold to be a coming hereafter. Future things therefore are not yet: and if yet they be not, at all they are not: and if so they be not, possible to be that they are not; yet foretold they may be by some things * present, which both are already, and are seen.

Signes, Causes, or fore-conceptions: as before is said.

CHAP. XIX.

*He demands of God, how future things be fore-
known.*

BUt tell, O thou Raigner over thy creatures
What is the manner by which thou teachest
soules these things that are to come? For thou hast
already taught thy Prophets, which is the way that
thou unto whom nothing is to come, dost teach
things to come; or rather out of Nature, dost in-
form us of things present. For, that which is not,
cannot be taught. Too too far is this way out of
my kenning: it hath gotten out of my reach, I can-
not by mine own power arrive unto it; but by thy
assistance I may again: even when thou shalt
vouchsafe me that most sweet light, of the inward
eyes of my soule.

CHAP. XX.

*These three differences of times, how they are to be
called.*

CLEAR now it is and plain, that there are
other things to come, nor things past: Nor do
we properly say, There be three times, past, present,
and to come. And yet perchance it might be properly
said too, There be three times; a present time, of
passed things; a present time, of present things; and
a present time, of future things. For indeed, thus
such as these in our soules there be; but otherwise
do I not see them. The present time of passed things
is our Memory; the present time of present things
is our Sight; the present time of future things, our
Expectation.

expectation. If thus we be permitted to speak, then
I three times, yea and I confesse there are three
times also be said, *these be three times, Past, pre-
sent, and to come*: according to our mis applied
name, let it be said: See, I shall not much be
troubled at it, neither gain say, nor find fault with
it, provided that be understood which is said, namely
that neither that which is *to come*, have any
being now, no nor that which is already passed. For
very few things there are, which we speak
properly: but very many that we speak impro-
perly, though yet we understand one anothers
meaning.

CHAP. XXI.

How time may be measured.

AS therefore I was even now a saying; We
take such measure of the times in their pas-
sing by, as we may be able to say, *this time is twice so
much, as that one; or, this is just so much, as that*: &c.
any other parts of time, which be measurable.
We do therefore (as I said) take measure of the
times as they are passing by. And if any man should
ask me, *How knowest thou?* I might answer,
I know, because we do measure them; for we can
measure things that are not; and verily, times
past and to come, are not. But for the present time
now, how do we measure that, seeing it hath no
end? We measure it therefore, even whilst it
is in the world; for when it is passed, then we measure
nothing: for there will be nothing to be measur-

2. But

2. But from what place, and by which way, and whither it passes this time while it is a measuring whence, but from the time *Future*? Which way, but by the time present? whither, but into the time past? From that therefore, which is not yet: by that, which hath no space, into that which is not still. Yet what is it we measure, if it is not in some space? For we use not to say, Single, and double, and triple, and equall, or any other way that we speak of time: but with reference still to the spaces of times. In what space therefore do we measure the time present? Whether in the *Future* space, whence it passed? But that which is not yet, we cannot measure. Or in the *present*, to which it passed? but no space, we do not measure. Or in the *past*, to which it passed? But neither do we measure that, which is not still.

CHAP. XXII.

He begs of God the resolution of a difficulty.

1. **M**Y soule is all on fire to be resolved of this most intricate difficulty. Shall I not say, O Lord God, O my good Father; in the name of Christ I beseech thee, do not so shut up these usuall, but yet hidden things, from this desire of mine, that it bee hindered and piercing into them: but let them shine out unto me, thy mercy, O Lord, enlightning me. Whom shall I make my demands unto concerning these points? And to whom shall I more fruitfully confesse my Ignorance, then unto thee, whom this student of mine (so vehemently burning to under-
stand)

and thy Scriptures) are no wayes troublesome to
give me, Lord, what I love: for love I do, and
the love hath thou given me. Give it me, Father,
who truly knowest to give good gifts unto thy chil-
dren. Mat. 7. 11. Give me, because I have taken
of thee to know thee, Psal. 73. 26. and "it is
meet that I should be full unto me untill thou openest it."
Even by Christ I beseech thee, in the name
of that Holy of holies, let not man nor devils dis-
turb me. For I believed, and therefore do I speak. Psal.
115. 10. This is my hope, this do I盼望, that
I may contemplate the delights of the Lord. Behold,
thou hast made my dayes short, and they passe
away, and I know not how. And we talk of time
and state, and times, and tuncs. How long time is
it since he said this: how long time since he did
this: and how long time since I saw this: and
the syllable hath double time, to that single short
syllable. These words we heare, and these verses
we understand, and are understood again. Most
manifest and ordinary they are, and yet the self-
same things too, deeply hidden: yea, the finding
out of the secret of them, would prove a very new
service.

This he transcribes, *And my labour is apparent to thee.*
I read it *breves*, in stead of *verses*: for that is never the
sense of Psal. 99. 5. which the Latine copie refers to in
their margenta.

CHAP. XXIII.

He clears this question, what Time is.

I Heard a learned man once deliver it, That the
motions of the Sun, Moon, and Stars, and not

that the day is one thing, and the night another; and
that the whole circuit that it runs from east to east
again; according to which account we say, There
are so many *days* passed; because that the *days*
being reckoned with the *nights*, are usually called
so many *days*, and that the *nights* are not to be
part of the reckoning. Setting therefore that a *day*
be made complete by the motion of the *Sun*, and by
the circuit from East to East again; I demand,
whether it be the motion that makes the
day; or the *Ray* in which that motion is finished;
or both? For if the first be the *day*; then should
we have a *day* of it, although the *Sun* should finish
his course of his in so small a space of time, as one
houre comes to. If the second, then should not
it make a *day*, if between one *Sun*-rise and an-
other there were but so short a *Ray*, as one houre
comes to; but the *Sun* must go foure and twenty
times about, for the making up of one *day*. If both,
then could not this neither be called a *day*, if the
Sun should run this whole round in the space of
one houre: no nor that; if while the *Sun* stood
still, so much time should now pass, as the *Sun*
usually makes his whole course in, from morning
to evening. *Am. bid son Jacob North* 1671. 3. 10. 11.
13. I will not therefore demand now, what
the should be which is called *day*; but, what
time should be: by which time measuring the
circuit of the *Sun*, should say that he had finish-
ed it in half the time he was wont to do; and
that he had gone it over in so small a space, that
three houres come to it, and when those come to
both times together, we should say, that this be
but a single time; and that a double time; not
with-

withstanding that the Sun should run his round
 from east to east; sometimes in that single time,
 and other sometimes in that double time. Let no
 man therefore say unto me hereafter, That the mo-
 tion of the celestial bodies be the Times; Job. 12.
 because that when at the prayer of a certain man,
 the Sun had stood still; till he could achieve his
 victorious battell. The Sun stood still indeed, but
 the time went on: for in a certain space of time
 of his own, (enough to serve his turn) was that bat-
 tle stretched and gotten. I perceive time therefore
 to be a certain stretching. But do I perceive it in-
 deed; or do I but seem to my self to perceive it?
 Thou, O the Light and Truth; shalt more clearly
 shew it me!

CHAP. XXIV.

Time is it, by which we measure the motion of
 bodies.

Doest thou command me to allow of it, if any
 man should define Time to be the motion of
 a body? No, thou dost not bid me. For there is
 no body (that I hear of) moved, but in time. This
 thou sayest: but that the motion of a body should
 be time, I never did hear: nor dost thou say it.
 For when a body is moved, I by Time then mea-
 sure, how long it may have moved, from the in-
 stant it first began to move, untill it left moving?
 And thus be I did not see the instant it began in;
 and if it continued to move so long, as I cannot see
 when it ended, I am not then able to measure more

of it, but only perchance from that instant I first
begin, until I myself leave measuring. And if
I look long upon it, I can onely signifie it to be a
long time, but not how long: because when we
conceive how long, we must do it by comparison:
as for example; This is as long as that, or thrice
as long as that, or the like. But were we able to
take observation of the distances of those places,
whence and whither a body or his parts go, which
is moved; (as if suppose it were moved in a Turn)
then might we precisely say, how much time the
motion of that body or his part, from this place un-
to that, was finished in.

2. Seeing therefore the motion of a body is one
thing, and that by which we measure how long
is another thing; who cannot now judge which
of the two is rather to be called *time*? For and if a
body be sometimes moved uncertainly, and stands
still other sometimes; then do we measure, not his
motion onely, but his standing still too: and we
say, It stood still, as much as it moved; or it stood
still twice or thrice so long as it moved; or any
other space which our measuring hath either per-
fectly taken, or guessed at, more or lesse, as we use
to say. Time therefore is not the motion of a body.

CHAP. XXV.

He prayeth again.

NOW I *confesse* to thee, O Lord, that I *know* not what time is; yet, I *confesse* again
unto thee, O Lord, that I *know* well enough, how
that I *speak* this in time; and that having long
spoken

spoken of time, that very long is nothing else but a piece of time. How then come I to know this, seeing I know not what time is? or is my not knowing, only perchance a not hitting upon the way of expressing what I know? Wee is not, that do not so much as know, what that is which I know not. Behold, O my God, I protest before thee that I lie not; but as my mouth speaketh, so my heart thinketh. *Thou shalt light my candle, O Lord: O my God, enlighten thou my darkness.* Pl. 138. 28.

CHAP. XXVI.

The measuring of the feet, and syllables of a verse.

DOES not my soule most truly confesse unto thee, that I *do measure times*? But do I indeed measure them, O my God, and yet know not when I measure? do I measure the *motion* of a body in time, and the *time* it self do I not measure? Or could I indeed measure the motion of a body how long it were; and in how long space it could come from this place to that, unless I could withall measure the time in which it is moved? This is not very time therefore, which way do I measure it? do we by a shorter time proportion out the measure of a longer; as by the space of a cubit, we do the space of a longer beame; for so indeed we seem by the space of a short syllable, to measure the space of a long syllable; and to say that one is double to the other. Thus measure we the spaces of the *feet* * of a Poeme, by the spaces of the

* *Metrum spatia versuum spatia versuum.* I suppose that
Carmen

German here, signifies the severall *Stanzas* or *Staves* of a Poem, rather then the whole Poem: for a staffe consisting of so many verses of severall kinds, was then by measure knowne, & true *Masse*, when it had the compleat number, variety, and order of verses: as an Hexameter verse was by measure found true, when his feet were of their due kind, number, and order.

verses; and the spaces of the verses, by the spaces of the feet; and the spaces of the feet, by the spaces of the syllables; and the spaces of long syllables, by the spaces of short syllables. I do not meane measuring by the pages; for that way we should measure places, not times: but when in our pronouncing, words passe away, we say it is a long *Stanza*, because it is composed of so many verses: they be long verses, because they consist of so many feet; long feet, for that they are stretcht out into so many syllables; it is a long syllable, because double to a short one.

2. But neither can we this way comprehend the certain measure of time: because it may so fall out, that a shorter verse, if it be pronounced leisurely, may take up more time then a longer verse, pronounced quickly. And so for a verse, a foot and a syllable. Upon which ground it seems unto me, that time is nothing else, but a stretching* out in length; but of what, I know not. O what wonder is it, if it be of the very minds! For what is it, I beseech thee, O my God, that I now measure; whereas I say, [either at large] that this is a longer time then that, or [more particularly] that this is double to that. I know it to be time that I measure: & yet do I neither measure the time to come, for that is not yet not time.

* *Differendum*: and so in the next Chapter, *Tendebat in finem*.

because that is not delivered me in any space, nor
 time past: because that is not still. What then do
 I measure? Is it the times as they are passing, not
 as they are past? For I was I saying.

CHAP. XXVII.

*He begins to resolve the former question, How we
 measure time.*

Courage my minde, and bend thy intentions
 strongly upon thine own self. 'Tis God that
 is our helper, he that hath made us, and not we our
 selves PL 100.3. Look out, see where truth begins
 to cleare up: Come on, let us put the case: The
 voyce of a body begins to sound, and it does now
 sound, yea it sounds still: but list, now it leaves
 sounding: 'tis silence therefore now, and that voyce
 is quite over, and is now no more. This voyce, be-
 fore it sounded, was to come, and so could not then
 be measured, because as yet it was not, neither just
 now can it, because it is no longer. Then therefore
 whilst it sounded, it might; because there was
 something that might be measured. But yet even
 then made is no stay, for onward still it went, and
 past at length quite away. Might it then be mea-
 sured the rather for that? By this passing in char-
 acter, was it stretched out into some space of time,
 by which it might be measured; because the pre-
 sent hath no space. If it remain then, it might
 even, loe, let us put the case, that another voyce
 hath begun to sound, and still does, with the same
 continued tenor without any distinction: let us
 now whilst it sounds, measure it: seeing when it
 hath

hath left sounding; it will then be past, and nothing left to be measured. Let us measure it verily, and tell how much it is. But it sounds still; nor can it be measured but from the instant it began in, unto the end it left in. For the very *space between*, is the thing we measure, namely, from some beginning, unto some end. For which reason, a voyce that is not yet ended, cannot be measured, as that it may be said how long, or short it is; nor can it be called equal, to another, or double to a single, or the like; and so soon (again) as it is ended, it shall be no more. How may it then be measured? We measure times, for all this; and yet neither those, which are not yet come; nor yet those which are now no longer; nor yet those, which are not lengthened out by some pause; nor yet those, which have no bounds. So that we neither measure the times to come, nor the past, nor the present, nor the passing times; and yet do we measure times.

3. O God All-creator I this very of eight syllables interchangeably varies it self between short and long syllables. Four therefore be short, namely the first, third, fifth, and seventh: which be single, in respect of the four long, namely the second, fourth, sixth, and eighth. Every one of these, to every one of those, hath a double time: I pronounce them over and over; and even so I find it, as plainly as sense can shew it. So far as sense can manifest it; I measure a long syllable by a short, and I sensibly find it to have twice so much: But now when one sounds after another, if the former be short, and the latter long, how shall I then hold fast the short one; and how in measuring the long,

shall I so lay them together, as that I may find this to have twice so much as that; seeing the long cannot beget to found, unless the short leaves sounding: yea, that long one it self do I measure at not present; seeing, I measure it not till it be ended. Now his ending is his passing away. What is it therefore that I measure? where is that short syllable? by which I measure? where is that long one which I am to measure? They have sounded as their sound, they are both flown, and gone; they are now no more, and yet do I measure them? Yea; and considerably do I answer (so far as a man may reach a well-experienced* sence) that this syllable is but single, and that double; in respect of space of time I meant and yet could I not do that worth, unless these syllables were already past and ended.

¶ It is not therefore these voyces (which now are not) that I measure: but something is in even in mine own memory, which there remains captured. ¶ I will thee, O my mind, that I measure for Time. Do not thou clamorously contradict me now, in that which is so; nay, do not disturb thine own self with these rowts of thine own *impression*. In thee (*I say*) it is, that I measure the times. The *impression*, which things passing by, cause in thee, remains even when the things are gone: that is it which being still present, I do measure: not the things themselves; for they purposely passe away, that this *impression* may be made. This do I measure, when I measure the times. Either there-

* *Terribilis est in finibus gentium.* * *Quantum exercitatus fuerit creatus.* So I recall, and not I see.

are they and the times, or they are not, which is measure.

5. But what when we measure Silence; and say that this Silence hath held as long time as that voyce did; do we not lengthen out our thoughts to the measure of a voyce, even as if it now sounded; that so we measuring or crossing something in these vast and diffences of Silence, may be able to say it over in a space of time? For when the voyce and tongue give over, yet then in our meditations go we over Poems, and Verses, and any other discourse, or Dimensions of Musicks; yea, and for the spaces of times, how much this is in respect of that, do we (in our thoughts) repeat over; or otherwise then if really we did pronounce them. Suppose a man were about to utter a long speech; and in his thoughts first resolve how long it should be; this man hath eyes in Silence already spent a space of time; and in commending it to his memory, hath already begun to utter that speech, which continues sounding, untill it be brought unto the end proposed. Yea it hath sounded, and will sound; for so much of it as is finished, hath sounded already, and the rest will sound. And thus passeth it on, untill the *reflex intention* conveighes over the history

of the speech, and then it is as if it were pronounced. So that though Silence be not measured by long and short syllables, yet it takes up time. So that it is not motion only that makes Time. The other Transfluxer hath done it otherwise, which I leave to censure.

And so into the past; by the diminution of the future, the past gaining increase, even until by the universall waisting away of the future, all growes into the past.

CHAP. XXVIII

Of the nature of time in our mind.

BUT how comes that future, which is yet to be, to be diminished or waisted away? or how comes that past, which now is no longer, to be increased? unless in the mind which attendeth all this, there be something done? For is expected, it marks attentively, it remembers; that for the thing which it expecteth, through that act or power which it marketh, may passe into that which remembereth. Who therefore can deny, that things to come are not as yet? and for all that, is there in the mind an expectation of things to come? And who can deny, past things to be now no longer? and yet is there still in the mind a memory of things passed. And who can deny that the present time waists space, because it passeth away in a point? and yet our attentive marking of it continuieth still, through which the future passeth to be away. The future therefore (which is not yet) is not a long time: but the long future time, is merely a long expectation of the time to come. Nor is the time past (which is not still) a long time; but a long passed time, is merely a long memory of the passed time.

2. I am about to repeat a song that I know.

* *Respondi. That I have by heart, sayes the other Translated which*

which quite marreth the Quilt, seeing he speak; not till after-
ward, of the taking it into the memory.

Before I begin, my expectation alone retches it
self over the whole; but so soon as I shall have
once begun, how much soever of it I shall (*by re-
peating*) take into the passed; just so much is retche
along in my memory: yea and doubly reacht is
the life of this action of mine, into my memory; so
far as concerns that part which I have repeated al-
ready; and into my *Expectation* too, in respect of
what I am about to repeat now: yea, and all this
while is my marking faculty present at hand,
through which, that which was *Future*, is conveyed
over, that it may become the *passed*: which, how
much the more diligently it is done over and over
again, so much more the *Expectation* being shortned,
is the memory enlarged; till the whole expectation
be at length vanisht quite away; when namely that
whole action being ended, all shall be absolutely re-
fled into the memory. What is now done in this whole
song, the same is done also in every part of it, yea
and in every syllable of it. The same order holds in a
longer action too; whereof perchance this song is
but a part. This holds too, throughout the whole
course of a mans life, the parts whereof be all the
Actions of the man. It generally holds also, through-
out the whole age of the sonnes of men; the parts
whereof be the whole lives of men.

CHAP. XXIX.

How the mind lengthens out it self.

1. **B**ut because thy loving kindnesse is better then
the life it self; behold, my life is a thing
meery

hurry stretch out: but thy right hand hath received me, even in my Lord the *Sonne of man*, the *Judiciall* betweene thee that art but one, and we that are many, in many finnes, by many sufferings, that by him I may apprehend even as I am apprehended, and that I may be recalled from my old conversation, to follow that one thing, and forget what is behind: not called back, to follow those things that be future and transitory: not stretched forth immoderately, but unimmoderately bent towards those things which are before me: not (I say) too immoderately stretcht out, but with a full bent follow I hard on, for the goal and of my heavenly calling, where I may hear the voice of thy praise, and contemplate the sweetnes of thine, which is neither not now to come, nor ever to passe away. But now ere my yeeres went in mourning, and thou, O Lord, my Father everlasting, art my comfort. And even now have I hang'd up and down after an inclination of Times, whose order I am yet ignorant of: yet my thoughts remain distracted with tumultuous variations, even the inmost bowels of my soul, wherewith I may be run into thee, thorowly purified and melted by the fire of thy love.

CHAP. XXX.

We goes on in the same discourse.

1. **A**fter that, will I leave running, and grow home in thee, appearing in mine own

As a few lines to play with the word; which oft-times makes himself so tedious, and most commonly lasts the

for me,

forme, thy truth: nor will I endure the questions of such people, who in a hot fever think for more then their bellies will hold; such as say, *what did God make before he made heaven and earth?* Or, *what came in his mind to make any thing then, having never made any thing before?* Give them grace, O Lord, well to bethink themselves what they say; and to find, That they cannot say *Never*, where there was *no Time*. That he is said therefore never to have made; what is it else to say, then is no time to have made? Let them see therefore, that there cannot possibly be any *Time*, without some or other of thy *Creatures*; and let them forbear this so vain talking. Let them strive rather towards these things which are before; and understand thee the eternall Creator of all times, to have been before all times. *Phil. 3. 43.* and that no time be coeternall with thee: no, nor any other creature, although there should have been any creature, before there were any times.

CHAP. XXXI.

How God is known, and how the creature.

O Lord my God, what bosome of thy deep secrets is that, and how far from it have the consequences of my transgressions cast me? O cure mine eyes, that I may take joy in thy sight. Certainly, if there be any mind excelling with such eminent understanding and foreknowledge,

* *Confession*; which are not all follow and customs of the
as the other Translator notes.

as to know all things past and to come, so well as I knew that one Song; truly that is a most admirable mind, able with horror to amaze a man. For where is that He, from whom nothing done either in the former, or to be done in the after-ages of the world, is no more concealed, then that song was to me whenas I sang it; namely, what, and how much of it I had sung from the beginning; what, and how much there was yet unto the ending? But far be it from us to think, that thou the Creator of this Universe, the Creator of both souls and bodies; far be it from us to think, that thou shouldst no better know what were passed, and what were to come. Far, yea far more wonderfully, and far more secretly, dost thou know them. For 'tis not, as when at the note of the finger, or the well-known song of the beaver, through expectation of the words to come, and the remembering of those that are passed, the affection of the parties be diversly stirred, and their Sences strained up to it; that there can in like manner any thing chance unto thee that art unchangeably Eternal; that is, the eternall Creator of Soules. Like as therefore thou in the beginning knewest the heaven and the earth, without any variety of thy knowledge; even so didst thou in the beginning create heaven and earth, without any distinction of thy action. Let him that understandeth it, confesse unto thee; and let him that understandeth it not, confesse unto thee also. Oh how high art thou? and yet the humble in heart are the house that thou dwellest in; For thou *rearest up those that are bowed down*; and never can they fall, whose strength thou art.

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CHAP. I.

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It is very difficult to find out the truth.



Y heart, O Lord, touch'd with the words of holy Scripture; is busily imployed in this poverty of my life. And even therefore in our discourse oftentimes, appears there a most plentiful poverty of humane understandings; because that our enquiring spends us more words, then our *finding out* does; and we are longer about demanding, then about obtaining; and our hand that knocks, hath more work to do, then our other

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hand that receives. A promise have we laid hold of, who shall defeat us of it? If God be on our side, who can be against us? Ask, and ye shall have; seek, and ye shall find; knock, and it shall be opened unto you. For every one that asks, receives; and he that seeks, finds; and to him that knocketh shall it be opened. There be thine own promises: and who needs feare to be deceived, whenas the Truth promiseth?

CHAP. II.

That the Heaven we see is but Earth, in respect of the Heaven of heavens, which we see not.

1. **V**NOW the Highnesse, the lowlinesse of my tongue now confesseth; because thou hast made heaven and earth; this heaven (I mean) which I see, and this earth that I tread upon: whence is this earth that I beare about me? Thou madest it. But where is that Heaven of Heavens made for the Lord, which we heare of in the words of the Psalmist? *The heaven, even the heavens are the Lords; but the earth hath he given to the children of men.* — Psal. 115. 16. Where is that Heaven which we see not? that in comparison whereof, all this heaven which we see, is but meer earth. For this heaven is wholly

holly corporeall. For all th'a which is wholly corporeall, is not every where beautifull alike in these lower parts; the bottome whereof is this earth of ours: but in comparison of that Heaven of heavens, even the heaven to this our earth, is but earth: yea both these great bodies, may not absurdly be called earth, in comparison of that I know not what manner of Heaven, which is the Lords, and not given to the Sonnes of men.

CHAP. III.

Of the darknesse upon the face of the Deep.

ANd now was this Earth without shape and weyde, and there was, I know not what foundnesse of the Deep, upon which there was no light, because as yet it had no shape. There-
 wist thou command it to be waken, that darknesse was upon the face of the deep: which that other thing was it, then the Absence of light? For if there had been light, where should it have been bestowed, but in being over all, by shewing itself, and enlightening others? Where therefore as light was not yet, what was it that darknesse was present, but that light was absent? Darknesse therefore was over all hitherto, because light was absent; like as where there is no sound, there is silence And what is it to have silence there,

Or, invisible. Gen 1. 2. A great part of this book, is a discourse of the manner of the creation of the world.

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myself stretch out: but thy right hand hath received me, even in my Lord the Son of man, the Mediator betwixt thee that art but one, and us that are many, in many finnes, by many sufferings, that by him I may apprehend even as I am apprehended, and that I may be recalled from my old conversation, to follow that one thing, and forget what is behind: not called back, to follow those things that be future and transitory: not stretched forth immoderately, but unashamedly bent towards those things which are before me: not (I say) too immoderately stretch out, but with a full bent follow I hard on, for the garland of my heavenly calling, where I may leave the voice of thy praise, and contemplate the sweetness of thine, which is neither now nor ever, nor ever to passe away. But now ere my feet have begun to sturving, and thou, O Lord, my Father everlasting, art my comfort. And even now have I sang'd up and down after an inclination of Times, whose order I am yet ignorant of: yet my thoughts remain distracted with tumultuous varieties, even the inmost bowels of my soul, unwill I may be run into thee, thorowly purified and melted by the fire of thy love.

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to have no sound there? Hast not thou, O Lord, taught these things unto the soule, which thus confesses unto thee? Hast not thou taught me, Lord, that before thou createdst and diversifiedst this unshapen matter, there was nothing, neither colour, nor figure, nor body, nor spirit? and yet was there not altogether an absolute nothing: for there was a certain unshapednesse, without any forme in it.

CHAP. IV.

Of the chaos, and what Moses called it.

1. **A**Nd how should that be called, and by what sense could it be insinuated into people of slow apprehensions, but by some ordinary word? And what, among all the parts of the world can be found to come nearer to an absolute unshapednesse, than the Earth and the Deep? For surely they be less beautiful in respect of their low situation, then those other higher parts are, which are all transparent and shining. Wherefore then may I not conceive the unshapeliness of the (first) matter which thou createdst without form (of which thou went to make this goodly world) to be significantly intimated unto men, by the name of *Earth without shape and voyd*?

CHAP. V.

That the chaos is hard to conceive.

1. **W**HEN herein the thoughts of men are seeking for somewhat which the Sense

may fasten upon; and returns answer to it self, it is no intelligible forme as life is, or as justice is; because it is the *matter of bodies*. Nor is it any thing sensible; for that in this *world*, invisible as yet, and *without forme*, there was nothing to be perceived. Whilest mans thoughts thus discourse unto himself, let him endeavour either to know it, by being ignorant of it; or to be ignorant, by knowing it.

CHAP. VI.

What himself sometimes thought of it,

FOr mine own part, O Lord, if I may confesse all unto thee, both by tongue and pen, whatever thy self hast taught me of this matter, (the name whereof having heard before, but not understanding, because they told me of it, who themselves understood it not) I conceived of it as having innumerable formes and diverse, and therefore indeed did I not at all conceive it in my minde: I looked up and down certain ugly and hideous formes all out of order; but yet formes they were notwithstanding: and this I called *without form*. Not that I wanted all *form*, but because it had such a misshapen one in so much as if any unexpected thought of absurdity presented it self unto me, my sense would straightwayes turn from it, and the frailnesse of my humane discourse would be distracted. And for that which my conceits ran upon, it was (I thought) *without form*, not for that it was deprived of all form, but in comparison of more beautifull ones: but true reason did perswade me, that I must

must utterly uncase it of all remnants of *forme* whatsoever, it so be I meant to conceive a matter absolute without *forme*; but I could not. For sooner would I have imagined *that* not to be all, which should be deprived of all *forme*; then once conceive there was likely to be any thing betwixt *forme* and *nothing*; a matter neither *formed*, nor *nothing*; without *forme*, almost *nothing*.

2. My minde gave over thereupon to question any more about it with my spirit, which was wholly taken up already with the images of *formed* bodies, which I changed and varied as me listed: and I bent my enquiry upon the *bodies* themselves, and more deeply lookt into their mutability, by which they both leave to be, what they have been; and begin to be, what they have never been. And this shifting out of one *forme* into another, I suspected to be caused by I know not what thing, without *being* caused by *nothing* at all: yet this I was desirous to *exam*, not to *suspect* only. But if my voyce and pen should here *confesse* all unto thee, whatsoever labors thou didst unknit for me in this question, what Reader would have so much patience to be made conceive it? Nor shall my heart for all this, cease at any time to give thee honour, and a Song of praise, for all those things which it is not able to expresse. For the changeable condition of changeable things, is of it self capable of all those *formes*, into which these changeable things are changed. And this *changeablenesse*, what is it? Is it a *soule*, or is it a *body*? Or is it any *figure* of a *soule* or *body*? Might it be said properly, that nothing were something, and yet were not; I would say, *Thou* were it: and yet was it both of these.

...so it might be capable of these visible and expanded figures.

CHAP. VII.

Heaven is greater than Earth.

But whence are both these, but from thee,
From whom are all things, so far forth as they
are being? But how much the farther off from
thee, so much the unliker thee. I do not mean
farness of places. Thou therefore, O Lord, who
art not *another* in *another* place; nor *otherwise*, in
another place: but the *same*, and the *very same*, and
the *very self-same*, Holy, Holy, Holy Lord God Al-
mighty, dwelt in the *Begging*, which is in *that* *God*
in *thy wisdom*, which was *one* of *thine*
Substance, create *something*, and that out of
nothing.

2. For thou createdst heaven and earth; not out of thine own self; for so should they have been small to thine *only Begotten Sonne*, and thereby out of thine *own self* too: whereas no way just it had been, that any thing should be equal unto thee, which was not of *thee*. Nor was there any thing besides *thyself*; of which thou mightest create these things; O God, who art *One* in *Trinity*, and *Three* in *Unity*. Therefore out of nothing hast thou created Heaven and Earth; a great thing, and a small thing: for thou art *omnipotent* and *good*, to make all

things good, even the great heaven, and the little earth. *Thou wert*, and nothing else was there besides. out of which thou createdst Heaven and Earth: two certain things; one *near thee*, the other *near to nothing*. One, for thy self to be superior unto; the other, which nothing should be inferior unto.

* Because at the first creation, it had no *forme* nor thing in it.

CHAP. VIII.

The Chaos was created out of nothing, and out of this Chaos.

BUT that Heaven of heavens which was for thyself Lord, and the Earth which thou gavest to the sons of men, Ps. 119. 36. to be seen and felt, was not at first, such as we now both see and feel: for it was *invisible*, and *unshapen*, and there was a *deep*, upon which there was no light: or, *darkness* was upon the deep, that is, *more than in the deep*. Because this deep of waters: (visible now adays) hath in his deeps, a light proper for its nature, perceptive by however unto the Fishes, and creeping things in the bottome of it. But all this while, was almost *nothing*; because hitherto it was altogether *without forme*: but yet there was now a matter that was to be formed. For thou Lord, createdst the world of a *space without forme*; which being next to *nothing*, thou madest out of *nothing*: out of which thou mightest make those great works, which we sons of men so much wonder at.

2. For

2. For very wonderful is this corporal heaven; which firmament between water and water, the second day after the creation of light, thou commandedst it to be made, and it was made. Which Firmament thou calledst heaven: the heaven, that is, to this earth and sea, which thou createdst the third day, by giving a visible figure unto the unshapen matter, which thou createdst before all dayes. For thou already hadst thou created * an heaven, before all dayes: (but that was the Heaven of heavens :) because in the beginning thou createdst heaven and earth. As for the earth which thou createdst, it was an unshapely matter, because it was invisible and without forme, and darkness was upon the deep. Of which invisible earth and without forme, of which unshapeliness, of which almost nothing thou mightest create all these, of which this changeable world consists; which continueth not the same, but mutability it self appears in it, the times being easie to be observed and numbred in it. For times are made by the alterations of things; whilest (namely) their figures are varied and turned; the matter whereof, is this invisible earth aforesaid.

* The other Translator calls this the Imperial Palace. The man would or should have said, The Emperial.

CHAP. IX.

What that Heaven of heavens is.

THE Spirit therefore, the Teacher of thy servant, whenas it recounts thee to have in the

beginning created heaven and earth; speaks nothing of any times, nor a word of any dayes. For verily that *Heaven of heavens* which thou createdst in the beginning, is some *Intellectual* creature, which, although no wayes *coeternall* unto thee, O Trinity: yet being partaker of thy *eternity*; doth through the sweetness of that most happy contemplation of thy self, strongly restrain its own mutability: and without any fall since its first creation, cleaving close unto thee, hath set it self beyond all rowling interchange of times. Yea, neither is this very *unspeli*ness of the invisible earth, and without *form*, once numbered among the dayes. For where no *figure*, nor order is; there does nothing either *come*, or *go*: and where this is not, there plainly are no *dayes*, nor any interchange of *temporal* space.

CHAP. X.

Not desire to understand the Scriptures.

1. **O** Let truth, the light of mine heart, and not mine own darknesse, now speak unto me. I fell off that, and became all bedarkned: but yet even for this, even upon this occasion camest to love thee. I heard thy voyce behind me calling to me to return; but scarcely could I discern it, for the mist of my finnes. But see, here I return now, searching and panting after thy fountain. Let go man for all me, of this will I drink, and so shall I live. For I am not mine own life; if I have lived ill, my death is far from my self; but 'tis in thee that I revive again. Speak thou unto me, O

course

course thou with me. I have beleev'd thy Bible,
 for the words of it be most full of mystery.

CHAP. XL.

What be learnt of God.

NOW hast thou with a strong voyce; O
 Lord, spoken in my *inner eare*; because
 thou art eternal; that only possessest immortality;
 by reason that thou canst not be changed by any
place or motion; nor is thy *will* altered by times:
 being no *Will* can be cald immortall, which is
 now one, and then another: all this is in thy sight
 already cleare to me; and let it be more and more
 cleared to me, I beseech thee; and in the mani-
 festation thereof, let me with sobriety continue un-
 der thy wings. Thou toldest me also with a strong
 voyce, O Lord, in mine *inner eare*, how that 'tis
 thy selfe who made all those *Natures* and substan-
 ces, which are not what *thy selfe* is; and which yet
 have their *being*: & how, that only is not from thee,
 which hath no *being*: no nor the *will* that slides back
 from thee that art (eminently,) unto that which
 is an *inferior being*, because that all such back-
 sliding is *transgression* and *sin*; and that no man
 does either hurt thee, or disturb the order of thy
 government, first or last. All this is in thy sight
 already clear unto me, and let it be so more and more,
 I beseech thee: and in the manifestation thereof, let
 me soberly continue under thy wings.

With a strong voyce thou toldest me likewise
 in mine *inner eare*; how, that neither is that crea-
 ture *coeternall* unto thy selfe, whose desire thou only
 art;

art; which with a most persevering chastity greedily drinking thee in, does in no place and at no time put off its natural immutability, and thy self being ever present with it, (unto whom with its whole affection it keeps it self) it having neither any thing in future to expect, nor conveying any thing which it remembereth, into the time past; is neither altered by any change, nor stretcht along into any times. O blessed creature, (if any such there be) even for cleaving so fast unto thy blessednesse: blest in thee, the eternal Inhabitant & Enlightener thereof. Nor do I find what I am more glad to call the Heaven of heavens which is the Lords, then thine own House: which still contemplating that delight which in thee it finds, without any forsaking thee to go into other; a most pure mind, most peacefully continuing one, by that serled estate of peace of these holy spirits, those Citizens of thy City in heavenly places, which are far above those heavenly places that we see. By this now may the Soul understand, how far she is cast off, by her own straggling: if namely she now thirsts after thee; if her own teares be now become her bread, while they daily say unto her, Where is now thy God? If she now seeks thee alone, and require thou one thing, that she may dwell in thy house all the dayes of her life.

* This shewes that by this creature he meant the Heaven of heavens, whereas the other Translator in 4 marginal note thinks he meant the Angels.

† This phrase being in the ninth chapter applyed to the Heaven of heavens, shewes that it is not here meant of Angels.

‡ Chap. 9. he calls it. An intellectual creature. And Chap. 13.

3. And what is her life, but thou? And what are thy dayes, but even thy eternity? like as thy years are which *faile not*, because thou art ever the same. Hereby therefore let the soul that is able, understand how far thou art above all times eternall, seeing that thy very house, which hath at no time departed from thee, although it be not coeternall unto thee; yet by continually and inseparably cleaving unto thee, suffers not the least changeableness of Time. All this is cleare unto me in thy sight, and more and more let it be so, I beseech thee, and in the manifestation thereof let me abide under thy wings.

4. There is, behold, I know not what *unshapeliness* in the alterations of these last made, and lower creatures; and who shall tell me what, unless such a one as through the emptinesse of his own heart, wanders and tosses himself up and down with his own fancies? Who now but even such a one would tell me, That if all *figure* be so wasted and consumed away, as that there only remains *unshapeliness*, by which the thing was changed and turned out of one *figure* into another; that *that* were able to shew unto us the changeable courses of the Times; plainly it can never do it: because, without the *variety of motions*, there are no times; and there is no *variety*, where there is no *forme*.

Demus. This the other Translator twice or thrice turns *family*; and all to countenance his fancy of the *Angels*: The *Angels* (as 'tis thought) were created together with this heaven; but yet they are not this heaven; for S. Augustin

CHAP. XII.

Of two creatures not within compasse of time.

1. **T**Hese things considered, for as much as thou givest, O my God, for as much as thou stirrest me up to knock, *Mat. 7. 7.* and forasmuch as thou openest to me when I knock, two things I find that thou hast made, not within the compasse of time; notwithstanding that neither of them be coeternall with thy selfe. One, which is so formed, as that without any ceasing^a to contemplate thee, without any interruption of change, though in it self it be changeable, yet having been never changed, it may thorowly for ever enjoy thy eternitie and unchangeablenesse. The other was so *unshapely*, as that it had wherewithall to be changed out of one forme into another; either of *motion*, or of *station*; whereby it might become subject unto time. But that thou didst not leave thus *unshapely*; because before all dayes, thou in the beginning didst create Heaven and Earth; the two things that I spake of.

2. *And the Earth was invisible and without shape, and darkness was upon the Deep, Gen. 1. 2.* In which words, is the *unshapeliness* noted unto us, that such capacities may hereby be drawnt on by degrees, as are not able to conceive so utter a pervasion of all the forme of it, as should not yet come so low as a meere nothing; out^b of which another Heaven was to be created, together with

^a The Heaven of heavens, he meaneth.

^b Out of which was without shape and void, which is the *Materia prima*.

visible earth and a well furnished : and the waters replenished with their kinds, and whatsoever beside is in the setting forth of the world, recorded to have been, not without dayes, created ; and that * because they are of such a nature, that the successive changes of times have power over them by reason of their appointed alterations of motions and of formes.

He means, that though the *Heaven of heavens*, and the first matter of the shapelesse earth, were created without time ; that is, in the beginning of time, either the first day, or before it ; yet every thing else is mentioned to be created in time and upon such dayes ; because they were to be subjected to time and change, from which he exempts the former two.

CHAP. XIII.

The nature of the Heaven of heavens described.

THIS, O my God, is my private judgement in the mean time, whenas I hear thy Scripture saying, *In the beginning God made Heaven and Earth : and the Earth was without shape and void, and darknesse was upon the deepe :* and not once mentioning what day thou createdst them. This I in the mean time judge to be spoken, because of the *Heaven of heavens*, that intellectuall Heaven, where to understand, is to know all at once ; not in part, not darkly, not through a glasse ; 1 Cor. 13. 12. but in whole, clearly and face to face : not this thing now, and that thing anon ; but (as I said) *know all at once*, without all succession of times. & I judge it spoken also, because of that invisible & void earth, excepted

like manner from all interchangeablenesse of times, which uses to have *this* thing now, and a-
 non *that*; the reason is, that where there is not a-
 ny figure, there can be no variety of *this* or *that*.
 Because of these *two*, that One first formed, utter-
 ly unperfected Heaven, meaning the Heaven of
 heavens, and this other earth, meaning the invis-
 ble and shapelesse earth: because of these *two*, as
 I judge in the mean time, did thy Scripture speak
 without mention of any dayes, *In the beginning,*
God created Heaven and Earth: * seeing presently
 he added what earth he spake of; and because al-
 so the Firmament being recorded to be created the
 second day, and called Heaven; gives us to note,
 of which Heaven he before spake, without mention
 of any dayes.

* He confirms his judgement by two arguments.

CHAP. XIV.

The depth of holy Scripture.

1. **W**ONDERFULL is the depth of thy Scrip-
 tures; which at first sight little ones
 please themselves withall: and yet are they a
 wonderful deepnesse, O my God, a most admira-
 ble profundity. * A depth, striking horror to

* Here fails my Papist out with sawey and simple women
 (as he styles them for daring to read the Scriptures without
 licence because they be hard. But does the Papal licence
 make them the easier? If none should read but such as un-
 derstand, then St. Austen had been barred. I will not
 women

men would read more and Interpret lesse. They must
read more that they may understand ; not all but something.
If our women have too much, I am sure y^{ou} have too
little reading.

look into ; even a hortor of honour, and a trem-
bling of love. The enemies of it do I hate vehe-
mently ; oh that thou wouldst slay them with thy
two-edged sword, that they might no longer be e-
nemies unto it : for thus do I love to have them
slain unto themselves, that they may live unto
thee. But now behold others not fault finders,
but extollers of thy book of *Genesis* : The Spirit
of God (say they) which by his servant *Moses*
wrote these things, would not have those words
thus understood : he would not have it under-
stood, as thou saiest, but so as we say ; Unto whom
making thy selfe Judge, O thou God of us all, do
I thus answer.

CHAP. XV.

*The difference betwixt the Creator and the crea-
tures. Some discourses about the Heaven of
Heavens.*

1. **D**Are you affirm it to be false, which with a
strong voyce, Truth told me in my inner
soul, concerning the eternity of the Creator :
namely, that his substance is no wayes changed by
time, nor his *Will* separated from his substance ?
Whereupon he willeth not one thing now, and a-
nother thing anon, but that once, and at once, and
alwayes, he willeth all things that he willeth : not
F 4 againe

again and again, nor now this, now that: nor willeth afterwards, what before he would nor: nor be unwilling with that now, which he was willing with before: because such a will is mutable; and no mutable thing is eternall: but our God is eternall. Again, this is told me also in my inner eares, That the *Expectation* of things to come, is turned to *Sight*, whenas they are once come: and the same *Sight* againe is turned to memory, so soone as they be once past. Now every *Intention* which is thus varied, is mutable; and no mutable is eternall: but our God is eternall. These collections I make, and put together, and find that God, even my eternall God, hath not upon any such new Will made any creature; nor that his knowledge suffereth any transitory passion.

2. What will you then reply, O ye gainsayers? Are these things false? No, they say; What is this? Is this false then, That every *nature* that is *formed*, and every matter capable of *forme*, hath no other being, but from *him* who is supremely good, because supremely he hath his *being*? Neither (say they) doe we deny this. What then? do you deny this, that there is a certain *sublime creature*, with so chaste a love cleaving unto the true, and true eternal God; as that notwithstanding it be not Coeternall to him, yet that upon occasion of no variety and turn of times, does it let go its hold, or parteth with *Him*; but rests it selfe contented in the most true contemplation of him only? Because thou, O God, unto him that loveth thee so much as thou commandest, doest thou shew thy selfe, and give him satisfaction: and even there-

therefore doth he neither decline from thee, nor toward himselfe. This is the house of God; not of earthly mould, no nor of any celestiaall body corporeall; but a spirituall house, and partaker of thy eternity, because it remaine without blemish for ever. For thou hast made it fast for ever and ever, thou hast given it a law which shall not be broken. And yet is it not coeternall unto thee, because it is not without beginning, for it is created. For notwithstanding we find no time before it, yet hath wisdom been created before all things; not that Wisdom, I mean, which is altogether equall and coeternall unto thee his Father, by which all things were created, and in whom being the beginning, thou createdst heaven and earth; but that Wisdom verily which is created; that is to say, the Intellectual nature: which by contemplating of the light, is become light. For this, though created, is also called Wisdom.

3. But looke what difference there is betwixt that light which enlighteneth, and the light that is enlightened; so much is there betwixt that Wisdom that createth, and this Wisdom which is created: like as there is betwixt that Righteousnesse which Justifieth, and that Righteousnesse which is made by justification.

a. *Jesu. Christ.*

b. Pet. Lombard. lib. sent. 2. dist. 2. affirms that by Wisdom, Beel 1. 4. the Angels be understood; the whole and singular Intellectual nature, namely this highest heaven, in which the Angels were created, and is by them instantly created.

For

T. 5

For we also are called thy Righteousnesse²; for so
 ſaith a certain ſervant of thine; *That we might be
 made the righteousneſſe of God in him³*. Therefore
 wiſdome hath been created before all things; which
 was created ratiſonall mind and an intellectuall; of
 that chiefe City of thine, our mother which is above;
 and is free and eternall in the Heavens. In what
 heaven; if not in thoſe that praife thee; even the
 Heaven of heavens? Because this is alſo, *the bea-
 uty of heaven made for the Lord⁴*. And though we
 find no time before it; (because that which hath
 been created before all things; hath precedency of
 the creature of time) yer is the eternity of the Cre-
 ator himſelf even before it; from whom that (being
 created) took beginning not beginning of its time (for
 time was not yet in being) but of its creation. Hence
 comes it ſo to be of thee our God; as that it is al-
 together another from thee; and not thou thy ſelfe;
 because though we neither find time before it; nor
 in it; (it being moſt meet ever to behold thy face;
 nor is ever drawn away from it; for which cauſe it
 is not changed by any alteration;) yet is there a
 mutable condition in it for all this; which would
 cauſe it to wax dark; and cold; but for that by ſo
 ſtrong an affection; it cleaveth unto thee; that it
 receives both light and heat from thee; as from a
 perpetuall noone.

4. O houſe moſt lightſome and delight ſome.
*I have loved thy beauty; and the place of the habita-
 tion of the glory of my Lord⁵*; thy builder and owner.
 Let my wayſaring here ſigh after thee; and to him
 I ſpeak that made thee; that he would take poſſeſſi-

² 1 Cor. 5. 22. ³ Psal. 138.

on of me also in thee; seeing he hath likewise made me. *I have gone astray like a lost sheepe* *; yet have I a good hope upon the shoulders of my Shepherd, thy builder, to be brought back into thee. What say ye now unto me, O ye Gaynfayers that I was speaking unto? you that beleevd *Moses* to have been the faithfull servant of God, and his booke to be the Oracles of the Holy Ghost? Is not this house of God, though not coeternall indeed with God, yet after its manner, eternall in the heavens; where you seek for the changes of times all in vain, because there you shall never find them? For it far overgoes all extension, and all running space of Age: the happinesse of it being, *Ever so cleave unto God*. It is so say they; What part then of all that which my heart hath so lowdly uttered unto God, whenas inwardly it heard the voyce of his praise; what part (I say) of all this, do you at last affirm to be false? Is it because (I said) that the first matter was without forme; in which by reason there was no forme, there was no order? But then, where no order was, there could be no interchange of times; and yet this almost nothing, in as much as it was not altogether nothing, was from him certainly, from whom is whatsoever is, in what manner soever it is. This also, say they, do we not deny.

*Psal. 119. 176. Luk. 15. 5.

CHAP. XVI.

*Against such as contradict diuine truth: And of his
own delight in it.*

I. **W**hich these will I now parley a little in thy
presence, O my God, who grant all
these things to be true; which thy Truth whispers
unto my soule. For as for those praters that deny
all, let them barke and bawle unto themselves as
much as they please; my endeavour shall be to
perswade them to quiet, and to give way for thy
word to enter them. But if me they shall refuse,
and give the repulse unto; do not thou hold thy
peace I beseech thee, O my God. Speak thou
only unto my heart; for only thou so speakest;
and I will let them alone blowing the dust without
doores, and raising it up into their own eyes:
and my selfe will go into my chamber, and sing
there a *loue song* unto thee; mourning with groane
that cannot be expressed, and remembering *Jerusa-
lem*, with my heart lifted up towards it, *Jerusa-
lem* my country, *Jerusalem* my mother, and thy
selfe that rulest over it, the enlightener, the Father,
the guardian, the husband, the chaste and strong
delight, and the solid joy of it; and all good things
that be unspeakable; yea all at once, because the
only Sovereign and true good of it. Nor will I be
made to give over, untill thou wholly gather all that
is of me, from the unsetled and disordered estate I
now am in, into the peace of that our most deare
mother; (where the first-fruits of my spirit be al-
ready, whence I am ascertained of these things.)
and

and shall both *conforme*, and for ever *confirm* me in thy mercy, O my God. But as for those who no wayes affirm all these *truths* to be false; which give all honour unto thy *holy Scriptures* let our by *Moses*, estating it as we did, in the top of that authority * which is to be followed; and do yet contradict me in some thing or other, to these I answer thus: Be thy selfe Judge O our God, between my *Confessions* and these mens contradictions.

* This *Top of Authority*, my Papist notes to be *The authority of the Church*. He should have done well to have made sense of it then, (for I alwayes looke not for Reason from him) To place the Scriptures in the authority of the Church; what can he make of that? *St. Augustine* gives the Scriptures the *top of Authority*; and this *Top*, is higher then the Church. Such *marginall notes* have too often crept into the Text, and corrupted the *Father*, by it.

CHAP. XVII.

What the names of Heaven and Earth signifie.

I. **F**OR they say, Though all this that you say, be true, yet did not *Moses* intend those *two*, when by revelation of the Spirit he said, In the beginning God created Heaven and Earth. He did not under the name of heaven, signifie that *Spiritual* or *intellektuall* creature which alwayes beholds the face of God: nor under the name of earth, that unshap't matter. What then? That *man of God*, say they, meant as we say, this was it he declared, by those words. Whats that? by the name of heaven and earth would he signifie

signifie, say they, all this visible world, in universall and compendious terms first; that afterwards in his sorting out the works of the severall dayes, he might joynt by joynt as it were, bring every thing into his order, which it pleased *the holy Ghost* in such generall terms to expresse. For such grosse heads were that rude and carnall people to which he spake, as that he thought such works of God as were visible, only fit to be mentioned unto them. So that this invisible and unshap't earth, and that darksome Deepe (out of which consequently is shewn, all these visible things generally known unto all, to have been made and disposed of in those six dayes) they do, and that not incongruously, agree upon, to be understood to be this unshapely (first) matter.

2. What now if another should say, That this unshapeliness and confuseness of *matter*, was for this reason first insinuated to us under the name of Heaven and earth, because that this visible world, with all those *natures* which most manifestly appeare in it, (which we oft times use to call by the name of heaven and earth) was both created and fully furnished out of it? And what if another should say, that these *visible, and visible* natures were not indeed absurdly called *heaven and earth*; and (consequently, that the universall creation, which God made in his *wisdom* that is, in the beginning, were comprehended under those two words. Notwithstanding, for that *all* these be not of the substance of God, but created out of *nothing*, (because they are not the same that God is, and that there is a *mutable* nature in them all; whether they stand at a stay, as the eternall house of God does,

or be changed, as the soule and body of man are :) therefore the *common matter* of all visible and invisible things, though yet unshap't, yet shapeable; out of which both heaven and earth was to be created, (that is, both the invisible and visible creature now newly formed) was expressed by the same names which the *Earth* *in invisible* and *unshapen* and the *darknesse upon the deepe*, were to be called by: but with this distinction, that by the *earth* invisible hitherto and unshapen; the *corporeall matter* be understood, before the quality of any *forme* was introduced: and by the *darknesse upon the deepe*; the *spirituall matter* be understood, before it suffered any restraint of its *unlimited fluidnesse*, and before it received any light from *wisdom*.

3. There is yet more liberty for a man to say, if he be so disposed; that (namely) the already perfected and formed natures (both visible and invisible) were not comprehended under the name of heaven and earth, when we read, *In the beginning God made heaven and earth*: but that the yet unshapely *rough-bewing* of things, that *Stuffe* apt to receive *shape and making*, was only called by these names; and that, because in it all these were confusedly contained, as being not distinguished yet, by their proper *qualities and formes*: which being now digested into order, are called *Heaven and Earth*; meaning by that, all spirituall creatures, and by *this* all corporeall.

CHAP. XVHI.

Diuers Expositions may understand one Text, several ways.

ALl which things being heard and well considered of, I will not strive about words; 1 Tim. 1. 6. for that is profitable to nothing, but the subversion of the hearers; but the law is good to abide, if a man use it lawfully, 1 Tim. 1. 8. for that the end of it is charity, out of a pure heart and good conscience, and faith unfeined. And well did our Master know, upon which two commandments he hang all the Law and the Prophets, Mat. 22. 40. And what prejudice does it me now confessing zealously, O my God, thou light of my inner eyes, if there may be several meaning, gathered out of the same words, so that withall, both might be true? What hinders it me, I say, if I think otherwise of the Writers meaning, then another man does? All we Readers verily, strive both to find out and to understand the authours meaning whom we read; and seeing we beleeve him to speak truly, we dare not once imagine him to have let fall any thing, which our selves either know or think to be false. Whilest every man endeavours therefore, to collect the same sence from the holy Scriptures, that the Penman him self intended; what hurt is it if a man so judges of it, even as thou, O the light of all true-speaking minds, dost shew him to be true, although the Author whom he reads, perceived not so much; seeing he also collecteth a Truth out of it, though this particular truth be perchance observed not?

CHAP.

CHAP. XIX.

Of some particular apparent truths.

1. **F**Or true it is, O Lord, That thou madest Heaven and Earth; and it is true too; that *that Beginning* is thy Wisdome, in which thou createdst all: and true againe, that this visibible world hath for its greater parts the *Heaven* and the *Earth*, which in a brief expression, comprehend all made and created natures. And true too, That whatsoever is *mutable*, gives us to understand that there is a want of *form* in it, by means whereof it is apt to receive a form, or is changed, or turned, by reason of it. It is true, that *that* is subject to no times, which cleaveth so close unto that *unchangable form*, as that though the *nature* of it be *mutable*, yet is it self never changed. 'Tis true, that *that unshap'dnesse* which is almost *nothing*, cannot be subject to the alteration of times. 'Tis true, that *that* whereof a thing is made, may by a figurative kind of speaking, be called by the name of the thing made of it: whence might heaven and earth be said to be that *unshap'd Chaos*, whereof heaven and earth were made. 'Tis true, that of things having *forme*, there is not any neerer to having *no forme*, then the *carth* and the *deepe*. 'Tis true, that not only every created and *formed* thing, but whatsoever is apt to be created and *formed*, is of thy making, of whom are all things. 'Tis true, that whatsoever is *formed* out of that which had *no forme*, was *unformed* before it was *formed*.

¶ To God.

CHAP.

CHAP. XX.

He interprets, Gen. 1. 1. otherwise.

1. **O**lt of these truths, of which they little doubt whose internall eye thou hast enabled to see them; and who irremoveably beleeve, thy servant Moses to have spoken in the Spirit of truth: Out of all these therefore, I say, he collecteth another sence unto himselfe, who saith, *In the beginning God made the beaven and the earth*, that is to say, in his word coeternall unto himselfe, God made the intelligible and the sensible; or the spirituall and the corporeall creature. And he another, that saith, *In the beginning God made Heaven and Earth*; that is, in his Word coeternall unto himselfe, did God make the universall bulk of this corporeall world, together wth all those aparantly known creatures, which it containeth.

2. And he another, that saith, *In the beginning God made Heaven and Earth*; that is, in his Word coeternall unto himselfe, did God make the *formlesse matter* both of creatures spirituall and corporeall. And he another, that saith, *In the beginning God created Heaven and Earth*; that is, in his Word coeternall unto himselfe, did God create the *formlesse matter* of the creature corporeall, wherein heaven and earth lay as yet confused: which being now distinguished and formed, we at this day see in the bulke of this world. And he another, who saith, *In the beginning God made Heaven and earth*, that is, in the very beginning of creating and working, did God make that *formlesse matter*, confusedly

ly containing in it selfe both heaven and earth ;
out of which , what were afterwards formed ; do
at this day eminently appeare , with all that is in
them.

CHAP. XXI.

*These words , The Earth was void , &c. diversly
understood.*

1. **A**ND forasmuch as concerns the understand-
ing of the words following , out of all
which truths , that interpreter chuses one to him-
selfe , who saith. *But the Earth was invisible , and
unfashioned , and darknesse was upon the deepe :* that
is , That incorporeall thing that God made , was at
yet a formelesse matter of corporeall things , without
order , without light. Another sayes thus : *The
Earth was invisible and unfashioned , and darknesse
was upon the deepe :* that is , This *All* now called
heaven and earth , was a shapelesse and darksome
matter hitherto ; of which the corporeall heaven
and the corporeall earth were to be made , with all
things in them , now known unto our corporeall
sences. Another sayes thus : *The Earth was invi-
sible and shapelesse , and darknesse was upon the deepe :*
that is , This *All* , now called heaven and earth ,
was but a formelesse and darksome matter hitherto ;
out of which was to be made , both that intelligible
heaven , which is otherwise called *The Heaven
of heavens :* and the Earth , that is to say , the whole
corporeall nature : under which name may be un-
derstood this corporeall heaven also ; that , name-
ly.

ly; out of which every visible and invisible creature was to be created.

2. Another sayes thus, *The Earth was invisible and shapelesse, and darknesse was upon the deepe*; That is, the Scripture did not call that unshapelynesse, by the name of *Heaven and Earth*; for that unshapelinessse, saith he, was already in being, and that was it he called *the Earth invisible without shape, and darknesse upon the deepe*: of which he had said before, that God had made heaven and earth, namely, the *spirituall and corporeall* creature. Another sayes, *The Earth was invisible and without shape, and darknesse was upon the Deepe*; that is, the matter was now a certain unshapelinessse, of which the Scripture said before, that *God made heaven and earth*; namely, the whole corporeall bulk of the world, divided into two great parts, upper and lower, with all the common known creatures in them.

CHAP. XXII.

That the waters are also contained under the names of Heaven and Earth.

But if any man shall attempt to dispute against these two last opinions with this argument: If you will not allow, that this unshapelinessse of matter seemd to be called by the name of *heaven and earth*; Ergo, there was something which

The last of the former Chapter. That which followes is the Confirmation of the Argument.

God

God never made, out of which he was to make heaven and earth. Nor indeed hath the Scripture told us, that God made this heaven and earth; but meerly to have us understand, that matter to be signified either by the name of heaven and earth together, or of the earth alone; whereas it said, *In the beginning God made the heaven and earth*: that so by that which followes, *And the Earth was invisible and without forme*, (although it pleased Him to call the formlesse matter by those termes,) yet may we understand no other matter, but that which God made, in that Text where 'tis written, *God made Heaven and Earth*.

2. The maintainers of those two latter opinions (either this or that) will upon the first hearing return this answer: We do not deny this formlesse matter to be indeed created by God, of whom are all things which are very good: for as we affirm that to be a greater good, which is created and formed; so we confesse likewise, that to be a lesser good, which is made with no more then an aptnesse in it to receive Creation and forme: and yet even that is good too. But yet hath not the Scripture set down, That God made this *unshapely Chaos*; no more then it hath set down those many other things that He made; as the *Cherubins*, and *Seraphins*, and the rest which the *Apostle* distinctly speaks of *Thrones*, *Dominions*, *Principialities*, *Powers* Col. 1, 16. All which that God made, it is most apparant.

a Creabile & formabile.

3 He begins to answer their objections.

3. Or

3. Or if in that text where it is said, *He made heaven and earth*, all things be comprehended; what shall we then say of the *waters*, upon which the Spirit of God moved? For if all things be understood to be named at once in this word *Earth*; how then can this *formlesse matter* be meant in that name of *Earth*, when we see the *waters* so beautiful? Or if it be so taken; why then is it written, That out of the same *unshapely matter*, the *Firmament* was made, and called *Heaven*; and That the *waters* were created, is not written? For the *waters* remain not *formlesse* and *invisible* unto this day, seeing we behold them flowing in so comely a manner. But if they at that time received the beauty they now have, when as God said, *Let the waters under the Firmament be gathered together unto one place*; that so the gathering together of the *waters* may be taken for the forming of them; what will the answer for those *waters* which be about the *Firmament*? Seeing if they had not any *forme* at all, never should they have been worthy of so honorable a seat; nor is it written, by what Word they were formed.

4. So that if *Genesis* hath said nothing of Gods making of some one thing; (which yet no sound faith nor well-grounded understanding can doubteth, but that he did make) let no sober knowledge once dare to affirm these *waters* to be co-eternal with God; for that we finding them to be barely mentioned in the book of *Genesis*, do not find withall where they were created. Why, (seeing truth teaches us) may we not as well understand that *formlesse matter* (which this Scripture calls the *invisible* and *unshapely Earth* and dark

some

some deepe) to have been created by God out of *nothing*, and therefore not to be *coeternall* to him: notwithstanding that this *story* hath omitted to shew where it was created?

CHAP. XXIII.

In interpreting of Holy Scripture, truth is to be sought with a charitable construction.

1. **T**Hese things theretofore being heard and perceived, according to the weaknesse of my capacity, (which I confesse unto thee O Lord that very well knowest it) two sorts of differences do I perceive likely to arise, whensoever any thing is by words related, though even by the truest reporters. One, when the difference riseth concerning the *truth of the things*: the other, when it is concerning the *meaning of the Relater*. For we enquire one way about the making of the thing created, what may be true; and another way, what it is that *Moses* (that notable dispencer of thy faith,) would have his reader and hearer to understand in those words. For the first sort, away with all those which once imagine themselves to know that as a truth, which is in it selfe false: and for this other sort, away with all them too, which once imagine *Moses* to have written things that be false. But let me ever in thee O Lord, take part with them, and in thee delight my selfe in them; that edifie themselves with thy truth, in the largenesse of a charitable construction: yea, let us have recourse together unto the words of thy book, and make search for thy meaning in them, by the meaning

of thy Servant, by whose pen thou hast dispensed them.

CHAP. XXIV.

The Scripture is true, though we understand not the uttermost scope or depth of it.

1. **B**Ut which of us all shall be so able, as to find out this full meaning, among those so many words which the seekers shall every where meet withall; sometimes understood this way, and sometimes that way; as that he can confidently affirm, *This Moses thought*, and *This would he have understood in that story*; as he may boldly say, *This is true*, whether he thought this or that? For behold, O my God, I thy servant who have in this book vowed a Sacrifice of *Confession* unto thee; do now beseech thee, that by thy mercy I may have leave, to pay my vows unto thee.

2. See here, how confidently I affirm, That in thy *incommutable Word* thou hast created all things *visible and invisible*: but dare I so confidently affirm, That *Moses* had no further meaning, when he wrote, *In the beginning God made Heaven and Earth*? No. Because though I perceive this to be certain in thy truth; yet can I not so easily look into his mind, That he thought just so in the writing of it. For he might have his thoughts upon Gods very entrance into the act of *creating*, when as he said, *In the beginning*: he might intend to have it understood by Heaven and Earth, in this place; no one nature either *spirituall* or *corporeall*, as already formed and perfected; but both of them newly begun, and as yet unshapen.

3. For

3. For I perceive, that whichsoever of the two had been said, it might have been truly said: but which of the two he thought of in these words, I do not perceive so truly. Although, whether it were either of these, or any sense beside, (that I have not here mentioned,) which so great a man saw in his mind at the hearing of these words, did nothing doubt but that he saw it truly, and expressed it truly. Let no man vex me now, by saying, *Moses doubteth not as you say, but as I say*: For if he should ask me, How know you that *Moses* thought that which you infer out of his words? I ought to take it in good part; and would answer him perchance as I have done heretofore; of something more at large, if I were minded to put him hard to it.

CHAP. XXV.

We are not to break a barity about a different Exposition of Scripture.

BUT when he saith, *Moses* meant not what you say, but what I say; yet denieth what either of us say, these may both be true. O my God, thou God of the poore, whose breast harbours no contradiction: rain thou some thoughts of mitigation into my heart, that I may patiently bear with such, who differ not thus with me, because they favour of humane things, or be able to discover in the heart of my servant what they speak: but because they be proud; not knowing *Moses* opinion so well, as loving their own: not for that it is truth, but because it is theirs. Otherwise they would as well love another true opinion, as I love what they say, when it is true that they say; not because it is theirs, but because

is true; and is theirs therefore no longer, even because it is true. But would they therefore love it, because it is true? then becomes it both theirs, and mine: for that all the lovers of truth, have a common interest in it.

2. But whereas they are so earnest, that Moses did not mean what I say, but what they say; this I neither like, nor love* for suppose so it were, yet is this rashness of theirs, no signe of knowledge, but of over-boldness, nor hath seeing further, but swelling bigger, begotten it. And therefore O Lord, are thy judgements to be trembled at; seeing that thy ~~truth~~ is neither mine, nor his, nor a thirds; but belonging to us all, whom thou callest to partake of it: warning us in a terrible manner, not to account it private to our selves, for fear we be deprived of it. For whosoever challengeth that as proper to himself, which thou propoundest to all in general; and would make that his own, which belongs to all, that man shall be driven from what is common to all, to what is properly his own; that is, from truth to a lie. For he that speaketh a lie, speaketh of his own, John 8. 44.

3. Hearken O God, thou best Judge; hearken O thou Truth: what answer shall I return unto my Gaynsayers? listen, for before thee do I speak it, and before my brethren, who employ thy law lawfully that is, to the end of charity; hearken and behold if it please thee, what I will now say to him. For this brotherly and peacefull word will I return unto him: Suppose both of us see that to be true that thou

* Here the P^{er} in Translator notes, That Truth is a Common Benefit. I allow it, if he excepts Roman.

sayeth; and both again see that to be true that I say: where I prethee, do we see it? I verily see it not in thee, nor thou in me: but both of us in the self same unchangeable *Truth*, which is above both our souls. Seeing therefore we vary not about the very light of the Lord our God, why strive we about the thoughts of our neighbour? which, it is impossible for us so clearly to see into, as we may into the unchangeable truth: for that, if *Moses* himselfe had appeared to us and said, *This I meant*; yet we so should we have seen it, but beleev'd it.

4. Let us not therefore be puffed up in favour of one against another; above that which is written, *Let us love the Lord our God with all our heart, with all our soule, and with all our mind: and our neighbour as our selfe*. For which two precepts of charity, did *Moses* mean, whatsoever in those bookes he meant: which unless we beleev'e, we shall make God a lyer, when as we imagine otherwise of our fellow servants mind, then he hath taught us. Behold now, how foolish a conceit it is in such plenty of most true opinions, as may be fetcht out of those same words; rashly to affirm, of which of them *Moses* principally meant: and thereby, with pernicious contentions to offend charity it self; for whose sake He spake every thing, whose words we go about to expound.

CHAP. XXVI.

What stile was fit to write the Scriptures in.

FOR mine own part, O my God, thou height of my humility, thou rest of my labours, thou which hearest my *Confessions*, and which forgiveest

my sins: seeing thou commandest me. *To love my neighbour as my selfe*, I cannot beleieve that thou gavest a lesse gift unto *Moses* thy faithfull servant, then I would have wished or desired thee to have given my selfe, had I been born in the time he was, and that thou hadst set me in the same place: whereby the service of my heart, and tongue, those books might be dispenced, which, for so long time after were to profit all nations, and throughout the whole world from such a height of authority, were to surmount all false and proud opinions.

3. I should have desired verily, had I then been *Moses*, (for we are of the same lump: and what is man, saying that thou art mindfull of him ?) I would therefore I say, had I been in his case at the same time, and that the *book of Genesis* had been put upon me to write, have desired the same faculty of expression to have been given me, and the selfe same manner of ending too, that so, neither they who cannot as yet understand *how God created*, might not reject the *stile*, as beyond their capacity; and yet they who are already able to do so, upon what true opinion, soever their meditations had pitcht, might find it not to have been omitted in those few words of *that thy Spirit*: and if another man, had by the light of truth discovered another, neither should that have failed to be pickt out of the self same words.

*A Tis a marvell that my Papist put not in some Romish pi-
nacle, (brighter then that the diuel set our Saviour on) to o-
vertop the bright of the Scriptures authority. What ne-
ver a marginall note out against the Scriptures? That say*

which heathen may confound - and thus be deceived

CHAP. XXVII.

To best drawing at the fountain.

1. **F**OR as a fontaine pent within a narrow com-
 passe, is the more plentiful in his waters; and
 with his streams serves more rivers, and larger spa-
 ces of ground; then any one of those rivers do,
 which after a long tract of land between, is deri-
 ved out of the same fountain; even so this Text
 of that dispenser of thine, that it might benefit the
 more people, who were to preach upon it, does out
 of a narrow scantling of language, overflow into
 such streams of clearest truth: as out of it every
 man may to his own sence, (as well as he can up-
 on these subjects, he, one observation, and he, a-
 nother) draw out the truth, by larger *circumlocu-
 tions* of discourse.

2. For some, whenas they read, or heare these
 words, presently conceive God to be like some man
 or like some huge bulk endued with unlimited pow-
 ers; which by some new and sudden resolution,
 had of it selfe, as it were with some places between,
 created heaven and earth; even two great bodles
 above and below: wherein all things were to be
 contained. And when they heare God say, *Let
 that thing be made, and it was made*; they thinke
 the words to have had beginning and ending, to
 have sounded in time; and so to have passed away;
 immediately wherupon, the thing became in Being;
 which was commanded so to do: and such other like
 conceits, which their familiarity with flesh & blood
 causes them to imagine. In little ones, as yet whilest
 their weaknes is carried along in this humble man-
 ner of speech, (as it were in the bosom of a mother)

their faith is wholesomely nursed up; and they by it assured and confirmed in the beleefe, that God made all these Natures; which in admirable variety their eye beholdeth round about them. Which words, who ever shall despise, as if too simple and with a proud weaknesse but once offer to crawl out of his cradle; he shall, alas, catch a most miserable fall. But take thou, O Lord God, some pity upon them, that such as go by the way, tread not upon this unfeathered young bird; and send thine Angell, to put it into the nest again; that it may be bred up there, till it be able to flie.

See, here is one part of the Angels office; who are *Messenger Spirits to the Kingdoms of salvation*, Heb. 13, 24.

CHAP. XXVII.

How diversly this Scripture is understood by others.

But others, unto whom these words are now no longer a *Nest*, but like some well-fild *Fruit-gards*; in which they discovering some fruits concealed under the leaves, gladly flock thither, and with cheertull chirpings seek out, and pluck off these fruits. For thus much, at the reading or hearing of these words, do they discern: how that all things past and to come, are outteached by thy eternal and ever-stable continuance at the same stay; and how there is not for all that, any one of the temporall creatures, which is not of thy making, O God. Whose will, because it is the same that thy self is, is no wayes changed: nor was it any will newly resolved upon, or which before was not in thee, by which thou createdst all things: not out of thy self, in thine own *similitude*, (which is the form of all

all things) but out of nothing, in a formlesse unlikenesse to thy selfe; which might after be formed by thy similitude; (it making its recourse unto thee who art but one, according to the capacity appointed for it, so farre as is given to each thing in his kind) and might all be made very good: whether they abide neer about thy selfe; or which being by degrees removed further off, by times and by places; do either make or suffer many a goodly narration. These things they see, and they rejoyce in the light of thy truth; according to all that litle, which from hence they are able to conceive.

2. Another bending his observation upon that which is spoken, *In the beginning God made heaven and earth*; hath a conceit, that that beginning is wisdom; because that also speaketh unto us. Another advising likewise upon the same words, by *Beginning* understands the first entrance of the things created: taking them in this sense, *In the beginning be made*, as if he should have said, *He at first made*. And among them that understand *In the beginning* to mean, *In thy Wisdom thou createdst heaven and earth*: One beleeves the matter out of which the heaven and earth were to be created; to be there called heaven and earth; Another the natures already formed and distinguished; Another, under the name of *Heaven*, conceiveth but one formed nature, and that the spirituall one to be meant: and under the name of *Earth*, the other formlesse nature of the corporeal matter. And as for them that under the names of heaven and earth, understand the matter as yet unformed, out of which heaven and earth were to be formed: neither do they understand it after the same manner: but One, That mat-

ter out of which both the *intelligible* and the *sensible* creature were to be made up: Another, that matter only out of which this *sensible corporeal* bulk was to be made, which in his mighty bosom contains these natures so easie to be seen, and so ready to be had. Neither yet do even they understand alike; who beleeve the creatures already finished and disposed of, to be in this place called heaven and earth: but one, understands both the *invisible* and *visible* nature: another, the *visible* onely; in which we behold this lightsome heaven, and darksome earth, with all things in them contained.

CHAP. XXIX.

How many wayes a thing may be said to be first.

BUT he that no otherwise understands *in the beginning* he made, then if it were said, *At first he made*; hath no ground whereupon with any truth he may understand heaven and earth, unless he will all understand the matter of heaven and earth; that is to say, of the universall *intelligible* and *corporeal* creature. For if he would have the *universe* to be already *formed*; it may be rightly demanded of him, If so be God made this *first*, what then made he afterwarwards? After the *universe*, surely, he will find nothing at all; whereupon must be against his will hear of another question; How is a thing *first*, if after it there be nothing? But when he sayes, God made the matter *unformed* at *first*, and formed it afterwards, there is no absurdity committed; provided, that he be able to discern, what goes first in *eternity*, what in *time*, what in *choice*, and

and what in *Originall*; First in eternity, so God is before all things: first in time; so is the flower before the fruit: first in choyce, so is the fruit before the flower: first in *Originall*, so is the sound before the tune. Of these three, the first and last, that I have mentioned, are with extreme difficulty attained to be understood, but the two middlemost, easily enough. For too subtle & too lofty a vision is it to behold thy eternity, O Lord, unchangeably making these changeable things; and so in that respect to be before them.

2. And who in the second place, is of so sharpened an understanding, as that he is able without great paine to discern, how the sound should be before the *Tune*? yet he is so, for this reason; because a *tune* is a *sound* that hath *form* in it; and likewise that a thing *not formed*, may have a *being* whereas that which hath *no form*, can have no *being*. This is the *matter*, before the thing made of it: Whose *matter* is not before the *thing* in this respect, for that it *makes* the thing; seeing it selfe is rather made into the thing: nor is it *before* in respect of distance of time; for we do not *first* in respect of time *utter formlesse sounds* without *singing*; and then turn or fashion the same *sound* into a *form* of *singing* afterwards: just as wood or silver be serv'd, whether a chest or vessel is fashioned. Such *matters* indeed, do in time precede the *forms* of those things which are made of them: but in *singing* it is not so; for when a man *sings*, the *sound* is heard at the same time: seeing that he does not make a rude *formlesse sound* first, & then bring it into the *form* of a *tune* afterwards.

Origine: How you understand this? The first is the
Tunelike noyle.

13. For a *sound* just as it is made, so it passeth, not
 canst thou find ought of it, which thou mayst call
 back and set unto a *time* by any Art thou canst use:
 therefore is the *time* carryed along in his *sound*;
 which *sound* of his, is his *matter*: which verily re-
 ceives a *form*, that it may become a *voice*. And
 therefore (as I said) is the *matter* of the *sound*; be-
 fore the *form* of the *voice*: not before, in respect of
 any power: it hath to make it a *voice*; for a *sound* is
 no way the workemaster that makes the *voice*: but
 being sent out of the body, is like materials sub-
 jected to the soule, to make a *voice* out of. Nor is it
 first in our choice; seeing a *sound* is not better
 than a *voice*; a *voice* being not only a bare *sound*, but
 a gracesfull *sound*. But it is first in Originall; be-
 cause *matter* receives not *forms* cause it to become
voice. By this example, let him that is able, un-
 derstand the *matter* of things to be first made and
 called *Heaven* and *Earth*: because *Heaven* and
Earth were made out of it. Yet was not this *matter*
 first made in respect of time; because that the *form*
 of every thing is it that discovers the time of it: but
 that *matter* was sometimes without *form*; but is
 now observed to be together in time with its *form*.
 And yet is there not any thing to be said of that
matter, but as if it were its *form* in respect of time,
 whenas indeed it is considered of as the latter of the
 two. Because doubtlesse, better are things that have
form, then things that have no *form*; yea they have
 precedence in the eternity of the Creator: that so there
 might be something out of nothing, of which some-
 what might be created.

Here my M.S. and Sommalins copy well reads it *Perfectum
 et potentiam*; whereas other Editions have it *Perficiendum
 potentia*.

CHAP. XXX.

The Scriptures are to be searched, with honourable respect unto the Penman.

i. **I**N this diversity of most true opinions, let truth it self procure reconciliation. And our God have mercy upon us, that we may use the law lawfully, the end of the Commandements being love Charity. 1 Tim. 1:8. By this if a man now demands of me, which of all these was the meaning of thy servant Moses; such discourses were not fit to be put among my Confessions, should I not confesse unto thee, I cannot tell: and yet this I can tell, That they are all true senses (those carnall ones excepted) of which I have fully spoken mine opinion. As for those *lively ones* of good hopes, them do not the words of thy Bible terrifie, which deliver high mysteries in an humble phrase, and few things in so copious an expression. And as for all those, whom I confesse both to have seen and spoken the truth delivered in those words; let us love one another: yea and joyfully together let us love thee our God, the fountain of truth; if so be our thirst be after truth, and not after vanities: yea, let us in such manner honour this servant of thine, the dispenser of this Scripture, so full of thy Spirit; that we may beleeve him, when by thy revelation he wrote these things, to have been his intentions unto that sense in them, which principally excels the rest, both for light of truth, and fruitfulness of profit.

CHAP.

XXXI

CHAP. XXXI.

Truth is to be received, whoever speaks it.

2. **S**O now, when another shall say, *Miserable*
as I do, and another, Yea the very same that I
do. I suppose that with more religion I may say,
Why must he not as you both mean, if you both mean
the same? And if there may be a third truth, *as a*
fourth; yea if any other man may discover any
other truth in those words; why may not He be be-
lieved to have seen all these; He, by whose mini-
stry, God that is but One, hath tempered these
holy Scriptures to the meanings of a many, that
were both to see true, and yet divers things? For
 mine own part toily, (and fearlessly I speak it
 from my heart) that were I to endite any thing that
 should attain the highest Top of authority, I would
 chuse to write in such a strain, as that my words
 might carry the sound of any truth with them,
 which any man were apprehensive of, concerning
 these matters; rather than so clearly to set down
 one true sense only concerning some one particu-
 lar, as that I should thereby exclude all such o-
 ther senses, which being not false, could no way
 offend me. I will not therefore, O my God, be so
 heady, as not to believe, that this * man obtain-
 ed not thus much at thy hands. He without doubt

* This is the third time that St. *Austen* hath given the
 Scriptures this stile; and never mentioned any subjection
 of the Scriptures unto the Church, which the Papiſt would
 have.

* *Moses.*

both perceived, and was advised of, in those words when *sahe* wrote them; what truth-soever we have been able to find in them: yea and whatsoever we have not heretofore been able, no nor yet are *provided*, that this truth be possible to be found in them at all.

CHAP. XXXII.

How to obtain the right meaning.

1. **L**ASTLY O Lord, thou that art a God, and not flesh and blood, what though a man should not see all, yet could any part of that be concealed from thy good Spirit, (who shall lead me into the land of uprightness;) which thou thy self wert by those words to reveal unto the Readers of all times to come, notwithstanding that he that delivered us these words, might among many true meanings, pitch his thoughts perchance upon one only? which if so it be, let that meaning then be granted to be more excellent then the rest. But do thou, O Lord, either reveal that very same unto us, or any other true one which thou pleasest: that so, whether thou discoverest the same unto us, which thou didest unto that servant of thine, or else some other by occasion of those words: yet do thou thy self edifie us, and let not error deceive us.

2. Behold now, O Lord my God, how much we have written upon a few words, yea how much I beseech thee? What strength of ours, yea what ages would be sufficient to go over all thy books in this manner? Give me leave therefore briefly now to confesse unto thee, concerning them; and to make choyce of some one true, certain, and good sense that thou shalt inspire me withall: yea and if
many

many such senses shall offer themselves unto me
(where many fallily may) leave them also to be
confessed by me: that I may at length preach the
same, which thine own minister intended, both
rightly and most profitably: for that is the thing
which my duty is to endeavour, which if I may not
attaine unto, yet let me preach that, which by those
words, thy Truth was pleased to tell me, which some-
times revealed also unto him, that which it pleased.

My M. S. reads it *in fine confessioni mea*, and not *in fine*
confessioni mea, as the Printed copies do.

**SAINT
AUGUSTINES**
Confessions.

The Thirteenth Book.

CHAP. I.

He calleth upon God.



Call upon thee, O my God, my mer-
cy; upon thee that createdst me,
and who hast not forgotten him,
that had forgotten thee. I invite
thee into my soule, which by a de-
fire

fire that thy self inspireth into her, thou now preparest to entertain thee. Forsake me not now when I call upon thee, whom thou preventedst before I call'd: having been earnest with me with much variety of repeating calls, that I would hear thee from a far, and suffer my selfe to be converted, and call at length upon thee, that now calledst after me; For thou Lord hast blotted out all my evil ^b *deservings*, lest thou shouldst be forced to take vengeance upon my hands, wherewith I have fallen off from thee; and thou hast preserved all my *well deserving* too, that thou mightest return a recompence unto mine own hands with which thou madest me; because that before I was, Thou art. Nor was I any thing upon which thou mightest bestow thy favour to cause me to be: and yet behold, I now am, merely out of thine own goodness, preserving both all this which thou hast made me, and all that too, whereof thou hast made me. For thou neither hadst any need of me, nor am I of so good use, as any wayes to be helpfull unto my Lord and Gods: nor am I made to be so assistant to thee with my service, as to keep thee from tiring in thy working; or for feare thy power might be lesse, if my service should be wanting: nor so to ply thee with my service, as a man does his land, that unlesse I till thee, thou must lie fallow: but made I am both to serve and wor-

^b *Mala merita, & bona merita.* If *merita* in the *Latine* must needs signifie *merits*; why did not my *Papist* here translate it *Evil merits* and good *merits*? The word *anciently* signifies *service* or *deserving*, good or bad. Is God *gracious* us, how can we in a proper and strict sence be said to *merit* of him? and if the *Recompence* be due to God, where's your *condignity*, or confidence be recompenced for your *merits*?

thy

ship thee; that I might receive a well-being from thee; & from it whom proceeds; that I have such a being, as is capable of a well-being.

CHAP. II.

Of the creature's dependency upon their creator.

FOR by the fulnesse of thy goodnesse; doth thy creature subsist; that the good, which could no wayer profit thee; nor though of thee, no wayer equall unto thee; yet being of thee, might not be wanting. For what did Heaven and Earth, which thou madest in the beginning; deserve of thee? Let those spiritual and corporeal creatures which thou madest in thy Willdome; say how they deserved thee: that things both now begun, and unformed as yet; (every one in its own kind, spiritual or corporeal) yea now falling away into an immoderate liberty and far distant unskillnesse unto thee, should still have their dependance upon thee. The Spiritual nature even without its due forme as yet, is far more noble then any corporeal nature though fully formed; and a corporeal thing though not yet formed; better then if at all it had no being. And in this manner should all things have for ever depended upon thy Word, unformed; were they not by the same Word reduced unto thy Unity, indued with a forme, and improved by thee the only Sovereign good to become very Good. What can these formlesse natures deserve a being of thee; seeing they could not have so much

much as a being, unlesse they had it from thee?

2. What did that corporeall matter deserve of thee, that it should be made so much as invisible and shapelesse? seeing it could nor be so much as so, hadst not thou made it so? and therefore because it was not at all, it could not deserve of thee to be made. Or what could the *spirituall* creature even now begun to be created deserve of thee, that it might at least al darksomy flit up and down like unto the *Deepe*; but very unlike thee; unlesse it had been by the same word call'd back unto that, by whom it was created: and by the same also enlightened, that it might be made lightsome by it; although not in any equality, yet in some conformity unto that *forme* which is equall unto thee? For like as to a body, simply to be, is not all one with *being beautifull*; for then it could no wayes be deformed: so likewise to a created spirit to *live*, is not all one with *living wisely*; for then should it ever continue *wisely unchangeably*. But good it is for us to stick close unto thee; lest what light it hath obtained by turning to thee, it may lose againe, by turning from thee; and relapse into a state of life resembling the darksom *deepe*. For even we our selves, who according to our soules are a *spirituall* creature, *Eph. 5. 8.* when we were sometimes turned away from thee our Light, were very darknesse in that estate of life; yea and still we labour amidst the reliques of our old darknesse; untill in thy only One we be made thy *Righteousnesse*, which is like the great mountains, For we have sometimes undergone thy *Judgements*, which are like unto the great *Deepe*. *Pla 36. 6*

CHAP. III.

All is of the grace of God.

BY that which thou saidest in the first creation, *Let there be light, and there was light*; I do, not unfitly, understand the *Spiritual creatures* because even then was there a kind of life, which thou mightest illuminate. But yet as then it had nothing whereby to deserve of thee, that there might be such a light: even so when already it was come to be, could it not deserve of thee to be enlightened. For neither could its *firmlesse* estate be pleasing unto thee, unless it might be made light: light, not by an absolute existing of light in it self, but by beholding thee the Light all-illuminating, and by cleaving unto ie; that so, the life that is lived at all, and the life that is lived thus happily, is might owe to nothing but thy grace: being now converted by a better change unto *That*, which can never be changed either into worse or better: and that is unto thee thy self only, because thou only *Art* simply; unto thee it being not one thing to *live*, and another thing to *live well*: seeing thy self art thine own happinesse.

CHAP. IIII.

God needs not the Creatures, but they him.

WHAT therefore could have been wanting unto thy good, which thou thy self art, although all these creatures should never have been; or remained utterly without form: which thou madest not out of any want, but out of the fullnesse of thy goodnesse, holding them in the con-

verting

verting them to form, with no thought; as if thy
 my were to receive any accomplishment thereby?
 For unto thee who art absolutely perfect, is their
 imperfection displeasing; that so they be perfected
 by thee, and thereby please thee: not as if thou
 wert imperfect, or wert to receive perfection from
 their being perfected. Thy good spirit indeed mo-
 ved upon the waters, yet was not born up by the wa-
 ters, as if he staid up himself upon them: for up-
 on what waters thy good Spirit is said to stay, those
 did he cause to be stayed up in himself. But thy in-
 corruptible and unchangeable Will, which is in it
 self all-sufficient for it selfe, moved upon that life
 which thy selfe hadst before created: unto which,
 living is not all one with happy living, seeing it does
 not live flitting up and down in its own obscurity:
 and which yet remaineth to be converted unto him,
 by whom it was made: and to live more and more
 there by the fountain of life; yea and in his light, so
 to be light, and to be perfected at last, and enlighten-
 ed, and made happy.

CHAP. V.

It is Confession of the blessed Trinity.

I Oe, now the Trinity appeares unto me in a
 glasse darke; which is, Thou my God, because
 thou, O Father, in the beginning, that is, in thy
 wisdom born of thy self, equall and coeternall unto
 thee, that is to say, in thy Son, hast created Hea-
 ven and Earth. Much now have we said of the
 Heaven of heavens, and of the invisable and un-
 known earth, and of the darke Deepe, according
 namely unto the wayning of spirituall deformity,
 which

which ever it should have wandered in, unless it had been converted unto him, from whom that life which already it had, was received: by whose enlightning it might be made a beauteous life, and become the heaven of that heaven, which was afterwards set between water and water. And under the name of God, I now understood the person of the Father, who made all; and under the name of beginning, the person of the Son, in whom he made all; and thus beleieving, as I did, the Trinity to be my God, I searcht further into thy holy Word, and lo his Spirit moved upon the waters. See here the Trinity, my God, the Father, and Son, and holy Ghost, the Creator of all thine own creatures.

CHAP. VI.

Of the Spirits moving upon the waters.

3. **B**UT what was the cause, O thou true speaking light, to kindle thee lift I up my heart, let it not be caught vanities, dispell thou the darkness of it; and tell me by our mother charity, I beseech thee, tell me the reason, I beseech thee, why after the mention of heaven, and of the invisible and shapelesse earth, and darknesse upon the deep, thy Scriptures should even then at length make the first mention of thy Spirit? Was it because it was meet so to have Him insinuated; as that he should be said to move upon? and so much could not truly be said, unless that were first mentioned, upon which thy Spirit may be understood to have moved. For verily, neither upon the Father, nor upon the Son, was he moved; nor could be rightly be said to move upon, if there were nothing yet for him

him to *move upon*. First therefore was that to be spoken of, which he was said to move upon; and then He, whom it was requisite not to have named otherwise; then as He was said to *move upon us*. But therefore yet was it not fitting to have Him insinuated otherways, unlesse He were said to *move upon*

CHAP. VII.

Of the effect or working of the Holy Ghost.

From hence let him that is able, follow with his understanding thy Apostle, where he thus speaks, *Because thy love is shed abroad in our hearts by the Holy Ghost which is given unto us*: and where concerning spirituall gifts, he teacheth and sheweth unto us a more excellent way of charity; and where he bears his witnesse, unto thee for us, 1 Cor. 12. 21. Eph. 3. 19. that we may come to learn that most excellent knowledge of the love of Christ. And therefore even from the very beginning, did the Spirit supereminently *move upon the waters*. Whom shall I tell it unto, and in what terms shall I describe how the huge weight of lustfull desires, presses down into the steep pit; and how charity raises us up again by thy Spirit which *moved upon the waters*? Unto whom shall I speak it? & in what language uncer it? For they are no certain places into which we are plunged; and out of which we are again lifted. What can be liker, and yet what unliker? They be affections, they be Loves; they be the uncleannesse of our own spirits, that overflow our lower parts with the love of cares; and it is the holiness of thy Spirit that raiseth us upwards again by the love of our Father; that

that

that we may liſt our hearts unto the Lord, Pſa. 69. where thy Spirit is moved upon the waters; and that we may come at length to that reſe, which is above all ſeas; when namely our ſoules ſhall have eſcaped over theſe waters where we can find no ground.

This ſentence was generally in the Church ſervice and communion. Nor is there ſcarce any one old Liturgy but hath it *Suſcepimur corda habemus ad dominum.*

CHAP. VII.

How Gods Spirit cheriſheth feeble ſoules

1. **T**He Angels fell, and mans ſoule fell; and all thy Spirituall creatures in generall had ſhewn the way unto the deep, which is in that moſt dark ſome bottom, hadſt not thou ſaid, *Let there be light, and there was light*; and unleſſe every Spirituall creature of thy heavenly City, had continued in obedience unto thee, and ſetled it ſelf upon thy Spirit, which moves unchangeably; upon every thing that is changeable. Otherwiſe, had even the heaven or heavens it ſelfe, for ever continued a dark ſome Deepe; whereas now it is light in the Lord. And now by that miſerable reſtleſneſſe of the falling ſpirits, and by their diſcovering of their own darkneſſe, (the garment of thy light being pluckt off them:) doſt thou ſufficiently reveale how noble the reaſonable creature is, which thou haſt created; and which nothing will ſuffice to ſettle its happineſſe and reſt upon, that is any way inferior unto thy ſelfe; and therefore cannot her ſelf give ſatisfaction unto her ſelfe. For tis thou, O Lord, that *thou lightenſt our darkneſſe* from thee muſt grow ſhine out

our garments; and then shall our daykynesse be at the same day.

2. Give thy self unto me, O my God, yea restore thy self unto me: for I love thee; and if it be too little, let me now love thee more affectionately. I am not able to measure my love, that I may so come to know, how much there wants of enough: that my life may even run into thy embracements, and not turn from them again, untill I be wholly hidden in the secret of thy presence. This one thing am I sure of, that woe is me if I be not in thee: yea not so only if I be without my self, but ill will it go with me, though I be hidden within my self: yea all other plenty besides my God, is meere beggery unto me.

CHAP. IX.

Why the Spirit only moved upon the waters.

1. **B**UT did not the Father also, or the Son, move upon the waters? And if we understand moving as it were in a place, like a body; then neither did the Spirit move. But if the excellent highnesse of the divinity, above every changeable creature, be understood: then did both Father, Son, and Holy Ghost move upon the waters. Why therefore is this said of thy Spirit only, as if there had been some place, where indeed there is no place for it: of which only it is written, *that He is thy gift*? Let us now take up our rest in this thy gift; there let us enjoy thee, O our rest, and our place.

2. Love prefers us thither, and thy good Spirit advances our lowlinesse from the very gates of death. In thy good pleasure lies our peace, our
body

body with his own lumpishnesse sways us towards its own place. Weight makes not downward only, but to his own place also. The fire mounts upward, a stone sinks downward. All things pressed by their own weight, go towards their proper places. Oyle poured in the bottom of the water, yet will swim on the top of it: water poured upon Oyle, sinks to the bottom of the Oyle. They are weighed down by their own heavinesse, they go to seek their own centers. Things a little out of their places, become unquiet: put them in their order again, and they are quieted. My weight, is my love: that way am I carried, whithersoever I be carryed. We are inflamed by thy gift, and are carryed upwards: we wax hot within, and we go forwards. We ascend thy wayes that be in our heart, and we sing a song of degrees; inwardly enflam'd with thy fire, with thy good fire, and we go; even because we go upwards to the peace of Ierusalem: for glad I was, whenas they said unto me, we will go up into the house of God. There let thy good pleasure settle us, that we may desire, no other thing, but to dwell there for ever.

The Holy Ghost, and not a furious blind zeale.

CHAP. X.

All is of Gods gift.

○ Happy creature* which knows no other thing but that whenas itself was another thing, even by thy Gift, which moveth upon every mutable thing, it was so soone as created, and no delay of time between, taken up in that call whereby thou

The Angels

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failest, *Let there be light, and there was light.* Whereas in us there is distance of time between our having been darknesse, and our making light: but of that creature it is only said, what it would have been, if it had not been enlightened. And this is spoken in that manner, as if it had been unsettled and darksome before: that so the reason might now appeare for which it was made to be otherwise; that is to say, that it being converted unto the light that never faileth, might it self be made light. Let him understand this that is able: and let him that is nor, aske it of God. Why should he trouble me with it, as if I could enlighten any man that cometh into this world? Joh. I. 9.

CHAP. XI.

Of some impressions or resemblances of the blessed Trinity, that be in man.

1. **W**Hich of us does sufficiently comprehend the knowledge of the almighty Trinity? and yet which of us but talks of it, if at least it be that? A rare soul it is, which whilest it speaks of it, knows what it speaks of. For men contend and strive about it, and no man sees the vision of it in peace. I could wish, that men would consider upon these three, that are in themselves. Which three be far another thing indeed, then the Trinity is: but I do but now tell them, where they may exercise their meditations, and examine and find how farre they are from it. Now the three that I spake of, are, To Be, to Know, and to Will. For I both *Am* and *Know*, and *will*: I *Am* *Knowing* and *Willing*: and I *Know* my self to Be, and to Will: and I would both

both Be, and Know, Betwixt these three, let him discern that can, how unseparable a life there is; yea one life, one mind, and one essence: yea finally how unseparable a distinction there is, and yet there is a distinction. Surely a man hath it before him; let him look into himself, and see, and then tell me.

2. But when once he comes to find any thing in these three; yet let him not for all this beleeeve himself to have found that *unchangeable* which is far above all these, and which is unchangably, and Knows unchangably, and Wills unchangably: But whether or no, where these three be, there is also a Trinity, or whether all three be in each severall one, or all three in every of them: or whether both wayes at once, in admirable manner, simply and yet manifoldly in its infinite self, the end unto it self by which end it is, and is known unto it self, and that being *unchangably* ever the same by the abundant greatness of its Unity, it be al sufficient for it self, what man can readily conceive? who is able in any terms to expresse it? who shall dare in any measure rashly to deliver his opinion upon it?

CHAP. XII.

The water in Baptism is effectuall by the Holy Spirit.

1. **P**ROCEED in with thy *Confession* of the Lord, thy God, O my faith; O holy, holy, holy Lord my God, in thy name have we been baptized, O Father, Son, and Holy Ghost: because that even among us also, in Christ his Son did God make an *heaven and earth*, namely, the *spirituall* and *carnall* people of his Church. Yea and our earth, before it received the

the form of doctrine, Rom. 6. 17. was invisible and unformed; and we were covered over with the darknesse of ignorance. For thou hast chastised man for his iniquity, and thy Judgements were like the great deepe unto him, Psal. 36. 6.

2. But because thy Spirit moved upon the waters, thy mercy forsook not our misery: for thou saydst Repent ye, for the Kingdom of Heaven is at hand. Repent, Let there be ^a light. And because our soule was troubled within us, we have remembered thee, O Lord, concerning the land of Jordan, and that bill which being ^a equail unto thy self, was made litle for our sakes: and upon our being displeased at our own darknesse, we turned unto thee and were made light. So that behold, we having sometimes been darknesse, are now light in the Lord, Phil 2. 6, 7. Eph. 5. 8.

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^a Christ.

CHAP. XIII.

His devout longing after God.

1. **B**Ut yet we walk by faith still, 1 Cor. 5. 7. and not by sight, for we are saved by hope; but hope that is seen, is not hope, Rom. 8. 24. And yet doth one deepe call unto another in the royce of thy waterspouts, Psal. 42. 7. and so doth he that saith I could not speak unto you as unto spirituall, but as unto carnall. 1 Cor. 3. 1. Even He who thought not himself to have apprehended as yet: and who forgot those things which are behind, Phil. 5. 13. and reacht forth to

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CHAP. XIV.

Our misery is comforted by Faith and Hope.

1. **A**ND so say I too; Where art thou O my God? see, where art thou? In thee take I comfort a little while, whenas I poure out my soule by my self in the voyce of joy and prayse, which is the sound of him that keeps holy day. And yet again is it besadned, even because it relapseth again; and becomes, a *darksome deep*; or perceives it self rather even still to be one. Unto it thus speaks my faith which thou hast kindled to enlighten my feet in this my night, why art thou so sad, O my soule, and why art thou so disquieted within me? Trust in the Lord; his word is a lanthorne unto thy feet: 1 Joh. 3. 2. Apoc. 7. 17. Ps. 42. 4, 5. Ps. 119. 105. Esa. 26. 20. Eph. 2. 3. trust and abide on him, untill the night the mother of the wicked, untill the wrath of the Lord be overpast: the children of which wrath, our selves who were sometimes *darknesse*, have been the reliques of which darknesse we still beare about us

body with his own lumpishnesse sways us towards its own place. Weight makes not downward only, but to his own place also. The fire mounts upward, a stone sinks downward. All things pressed by their own weight, go towards their proper places. Oyle powred in the bottom of the water, yet will swim on the top of it: water powred upon Oyle, sinks to the bottom of the Oyle. They are weighed down by their own heavinesse, they go to seek their own centers. Things a little out of their places, become unquiet: put them in their order again, and they are quieted. My weight, is my love: that way am I carried, whithersoever I be carryed. We are inflamed by thy gift, and are carryed upwards: we wax hot within, and we go forwards. *We ascend thy wayes that be in our heart; and we sing a song of degrees; inwardly enflam'd with thy fire, with thy* good fire, and we go; even because we go upwards to the peace of Ierusalem: for glad I was, when as they said unto me, we will go up into the house of God. There let thy good pleasure scettle us, that we may desire, no other thing, but to dwell there for ever.*

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CHAP. XIV.

Our misery is comforted by Faith and Hope.

1. **A**Nd so say I too; Where art thou O my God? See, where art thou? In thee take I comfort a little while, whenas I poure out my soule by my self in the voyce of joy and prayse, which is the sound of him that keeps holy day. And yet again is it besadned, even because it relapseth again; and becomes, a *darksome deep*; or perceives it self rather even still to be one. Unto it thus speaks my faith which thou hast kindled to enlighten my feet in this my night, *Why art thou so sad, O my soule, and why art thou so disquieted within me?* Trust in the Lord; his word is a lanthorne unto thy feet: 1 Joh. 3. 2. Apoc. 7. 17. Ps. 42. 4, 5. Ps. 119. 105. Esa. 26. 20. Eph. 2. 3. trust and abide on him, untill the night the mother of the wicked, untill the wrath of the Lord be overpast: the children of which wrath, our selves who were sometimes *darknesse*, have been: the reliques of which darknesse we still beare about us

in our body, dead because of sin; untill the day break, and the shadowes flee away, Eph. 5. 8, Rom. 8. 10. Cant. 2. 17.

2. Hope thou in the Lord; in the morning I shall stand in thy presence, and contemplate thee: yea I shall for ever confesse unto thee. In the morning I shall stand in thy presence, and shall see the health of my countenance, even my God, Psa. 43. 11. Who also shall quicken our mortall bodies, by the Spirit that dwelleth in us, Rom. 8. 11. Who in mercy sometimes moved upon our inner darksome and floating deep: from whom in this our pilgrimage we have received such a pledge, as that even now we are light: even already in this life, whilest we are saved by hope, made the Children of light, and the Children of the day, not the Children of the night, nor of the darknes, which yet sometimes we have been. Betwixt which Children of darknesse and us, in this uncertainty of humane knowledge, thou only canst * divide; thou, who provest the hearts, and callest the light, day, and the darknesse, night. For who can discern us, but thou? And what have we, that we have not received of thee? Out of the same lump are some made for vessels of honour, and others for dishonour.

* Here the Popish Translator fals foule upon the Calvinists, for affirming their Church to consist only of the Elect. He should have done well to have quoted some Author; Mr. Calvin himself saith only, That the Church properly consists of the Elect, though many wicked be of the outward Church, with whom he saith, we are commanded to hold communion. Institut. lib. 4. c. 1. Sect. 7.

CHAP. XV.

By the word Firmament, is the Scripture meant.

1. **B**Vt who except thou, O our God, made that Firmament of the Authority of thy divine Scripture to be over us? as tis said, The heaven shall be folded up like a book; Rom. 9 21. and is even now stretcht over us like a skin. For thy holy Scripture is of more eminent authority, since those mortals departed this life, by whom thou dispensest it unto us. And thou knowest O Lord, thou knowest, how thou with skins didst once apparell^a men, so soon as they by sin were become mortall.

Whereupon hast thou like a skin stretched out the Firmament of thy book^b; that is to say, those words of thine so well agreeing together; which by the ministry of mortall men thou spreadest over us. For by the death of those men is that solid strength of authority appearing in the books set by them, more eminently stretcht over all, that be now under it; which strength whil'lst they lived on earth, was not then so eminently stretcht out over us. Thou hadst not as yet spread abroad that heaven like a skin; thou hadst as yet everywhere noised abroad the report of their deaths.

2. Let us look, O Lord, upon the heavens the work of thy fingers; cleare our eyes of that mist

^a Adam and Eve.

^b The Popish Translators note, That by men the Scriptures came to have authority over us, is false onlesse men made the Firmament; mans, nay the Penmans authority is here called Ministry; and thats service, not true authority. Nay the next words shew, that mans authority obscured the Scriptures authority; which was eminent after the Penmen were dead.

with which thou hast overcast them: there is *that testimony of thine, which giveth wisdom unto the little ones*: perfect, O my God, thine own praise out of the mouth of babes and sucklings. Nor have we known any other books, which so destroy pride, which so beat down the adversary, and him that stands upon his guard; that standeth out upon terms of reconciliation with thee, in defence of his own sins. I know not, *Lord*, I know not of any other such chaste words, that are so powerfull in perswading me to confession, and in making thy yoke easie unto my neck, and in inviting me to serve thee for very loves sake. Grant me to understand them, good *Father*: grant me thus much that am placed ^a under them: because that for them who are placed under them, thou hast settled them so surely.

3. Other Waters also there be *above this firmament*; immortall they be, as I beleieve, and separated from all earthly corruption. Let those super-celestiall people, thine Angels, praise thee, yea let them praise thy name: they, who have no need to receive this Firmament, or by reading to attain the knowledge of thy Word. For they alwayes behold thy face, and there do they reade without any syllables measurable by times, what the meaning is of thy eternall will; They read, they chuse, they love. They are ever reading; yet that never passeth over which they read: because by choosing, and

^a Here is my Papist forced to confesse the Scriptures to be above all humane authority, and that the Churches power is but to declare which be Scriptures.

by loving, do they read the unchangablenesse of thy counsaile. Their book is never closed, nor shall it be ever clasped: seeing thy selfe is that volumn unto them, yea thou art so eternally. For thou hast ordained them to be above this Firmament, which thou hast setled over the infirmnesse of the lower people: where-out they might receive and take notice of thy mercy; which sets thee forth after a temporall manner; even thee that madest times. For thy mercy, O Lord, is in the Heavens, and thy truth reacheth unto the clouds. Psa. 36. 5. The clouds passe away, but the heaven abides: the preachers of thy Word passe out of this life into another; but thy Scripture is spred abroad over the people, even unto the end of the world.

4. Yea both heaven and earth shall passe, but thy words shall not passe away, Mat. 24. 35. Because the parchment shall be folded up: and the grasse over which it was spred out, shall with the goodnesse of it also passe away; but thy word remaineth for ever, Esay. 40. 6. 8. Which word now appeareth unto us under the darknesse of the clouds, and under the glasse of the heavens, and not as in it self it is: because that even we, though the well-beloved of thy Son, yet is it not hitherto manifest what we shall be, 1 Joh. 3. 2. He standeth looking thow the lattice, Cant. 2. 9. of our flesh, and he spake us faire, yea he set us on fire, and we ran after the sent of his odors. But when he shall appear, then shall we be like him, for we shall see him as he is. Grant us, Lord, to see him that is our own, though the time be not yet come.

CHAP. XVI.

God is unchangeable.

1. **F**Or fully, as in thy self thou art, thou only knowest; thou, who Art unchangeably, and knowest unchangeably, and willest unchangeably. And thy essence both knoweth, and willeth unchangeably. And thy knowledge is, and wills unchangeably: and thy will is, and knows unchangeably. Nor seems it right in thine eyes, that in the same manner as an unchangeable light knoweth it self, so it should be known of a thing changeable, that receives light from another. My soule is therefore like a *land where no water is*, Psal. 143. 6. Because that as it cannot of it self enlighten it self, so can it not of it self satisfie it self. For so is the fountain of life with thee, like as in thy light we shall see light. Psal. 36. 9.

CHAP. XVII.

What is meant by dry land, and by the Sea.

1. **W**Ho gathered a bitter spirited people together into one society? because that all of them propound to themselves the same end of a temporall and earthly felicity; for attaining wherof they do whatever they do, though in the doing they waver up and down with innumerable variety of cares. Who, Lord, but thy self who once commanded it that the waters should be gathered together into one place? Gen. 1. 9. And that the dry land should appear, which thirsteth after thee, Psal. 143. 6.

^a Here the other Translator is a little in turning it.
Bitter-waters.

For

For the Sea is thine, and thou hast made it, and thy hands prepared the dry land, Psa. 95. 16 Nor is the bitter spiritednesse of mens wills, but the gathering together of the waters, called Sea: yet dost thou also restrain the wicked desires of mens souls, and settest them their bounds, how far the waters may be suffered to passe; that their waves may break one against another: and in this manner makest thou it a Sea, by the order of thy dominion which goes over all things.

2. But as for the souls that thirst after thee, and that appear before thee (being by other bounds divided from the society of the Sea) them dost thou so water by a sweet spring, that the earth may bring forth fruit: and thou, O Lord so commanding, our soul may bud forth her works of mercy according to their kind; Psa. 85. 11. when we love our neighbor in the relief of his bodily necessities: Having seed in it self according to its likenesse: whenas out of the consideration of our own infirmity, we so farre compassionate them, as that we are ready to relieve the needy: helping them, even as we would desire to be helped our own selves, if we in like manner were in any necessity; And that not in things easie to us alone, as in the green^a herb which hath seed in it; but also in affording them the protection of our assistance with our best strength, like the tree that brings forth fruit: that is to say, some right good turn for the rescuing him

^a St. Austen still alludes to the manner of the creation, Gen. 1. His meaning is, that we should not only do slightly for our neighbour, as we do for an herb, which having seed in it self, needs but our setting, but be like a tree to him, afford him fruit, strength, and shadow.

that suffers wrong; out of the clutches of him that is too strong for him : and by affording him the shelter of our protection, by the powerfull arm of just judgement.

CHAP. XVIII.

He continueth his Allegory, in alluding to the works of the Creation.

1^o **S**O, Lord, even so I beseech thee, Let it spring out, as already thou makest it do, as already thou givest chearfulnesse and ability. *Let Truth spring out of the Earth, and righteousnesse look down from Heaven, and let there be lights in the Firmament, Gen. 1. 12. Let us break our bread unto the hungry, and let us bring the poore that is cast out, into our own house. Let us cloath the naked, and never despise those of our own flesh.* Which fruits being once sprung out of the earth, see that it is good: and let our temporary light break forth; and we our selves, from this inferior fruitfulness of Action, arriving to that superior word of life in the delightfulnesse of Contemplation, may appear at length like the lights in the world, fast settled to the Firmament of thy Scriptures. For there by discourse thou so clearest things unto us, as that we be enabled to divide between intelligible and sensible creatures, as betwixt the day and the night; or between souls given either to Intellectuall; or unto sensible creatures: insomuch as not only thou thy self in the secret of thine own Judgement, like as before ever the Firmament was made, thou dividest between the light and the darknesse, but thy spirituall children also set and ranked in the same Firmament.

Firmaments, (thy grace now cleerely shining throughout their *Orb*) may now give their light unto the earth, and divide betwixt the day and the night, and be for signes of times and seasons, namely, that *old things are passed with them, and lo, all things are become new*, 2 Cor. 5. 17, and that *our salvation is now nearer then when we first beleaved: and that the night is passed, and the day is at hand*: Rom. 13. 11, 12. and that *thou wilt crown the yeere with thy blessing*; Psal. 65. 11. *send labourers into thy harvest*, Mat. 9. 38. in the sowing wherof, others have taken pains before; *sowing the seed also for another harvest, which shall be in the end of the world.*

2. Thus givest thou life to him that seeketh it, & thou bledest the yeers of the just: But thou art the same, and in thy yeers which fail not, thou preparest a beginning for the yeeres that are a passing. For thou in thy eternal counsel dost in their proper seasons bestow thy heavenly blessings upon the earth: for to one there is given by thy Spirit, the word of wisdom resembling the greater light, (for them who are delighted with the brightnes of perspicuous truth) rising as it were in the beginning of the day. To another is given the word of knowledge by the same Spirit, resembling the lesser light: To another faith; to another the gift of healing; to another the working of miracles; to another prophecy; to another discerning of Spirits; to another divers kinds of tongues: 1 Cor. 12. 8, 10. And all these resemble the lesser stars. All these worketh the same spirit, dividing what is fit for every man, even as it will; & causing the stars to appear in their brightnes, unto each mans edification.

3. But as for the word of knowledge, wherein are all the Sacraments contained, which are varied in their

their seasons like the moon, together with those other notions of gifts, which are afterwards reckoned up, like the stars: they so much come short of the brightnesse of wisdom, in as much as their rising is in the beginning of the night. But yet are these necessary unto such, as that wisest servant^b of thine could not speak unto, as unto spiritual, but as unto carnal men; even he, who also *speaketh wisdom among those that are perfect*, 1 Cor. 3. 1. As for the naturall man like him who is a babe in *Christ*, and a *sucker of milk*; till such time as he grows big enough for * strong meat; and can look steadily against the Sun, let him not utterly forsake his night, but rest himself contented, with what light the moon and the stars afford him. These discourses holdest thou with us, O our most wise God, in thy Bible that Firmament of thine; that we may learn by it how to discern of all these things, in an admirable contemplation: though still but in Signes, and in times, and in dayes, and in yeeres.

^b *Moses* saith the other Translator St. Paul, say I. The phrase is St. Pauls.

* He alludes to the Primitive practice, which admitted not their *Catechumens* or *unbaptized*, to heare the higher points of Religion handled. till they were *enlightned*, that is, *baptized*; yet these he advised to rest contented with their *Catechetical Knowledge*. The other Translator is puzzled; He alludes to the Sacrament of Baptism. Here the other Translator mis-read his copy, *populi* for *pabuli*, and mis-poynts the next sentence.

CHAP. XIX.

Our hearts are to be purged from vice, that they may be capable of vertue. He still continues his Allegory of the creation.

1. **B**ut wash you first, make you clean, put away the evil of your doings out of your own hearts, and from before mine eyes, that the dry land may appeare. *Esa. 1. 15. Learn to do good, judge the fatherlesse, plead for the widow, that the earth may bring forth the green herb for meat, and the tree bearing fruit: and then come let us reason together, saith the Lord, that there may be light in the Firmament of the heaven, and let them shine upon the earth. Gen. 1. 11, 30. That rich young man demanded of our good master, what he should do to attain eternal life. Mar. 10. 16, 17. Let our good master tell him (whom he thought to be no more then a man, who is good, because he is God) let him tell him, That if he would enter into life, he must keep the commandments: let him put away the bitterness of malice and wickednesse; let him not kill, nor commit adultery, nor steale, nor bear false witnesse: that the dry land may appeare, and bring forth the honouring of Father and mother, and the love of our neighbour: All these (saith he) have I kept.*

2. Whence then cometh such store of thorns, if so be the earth be fruitfull? Go stub up those thick bushes of covetousnesse; sell that thou hast, and fill thy self with standing corn, by giving to the poore; and follow the Lord if thou wilt be perfect, that is, associated to them, among whom he speaketh wisdom; he that well knoweth what to distribute to the day, and what unto the night; that thou also

also maist know it, and that for thee there may be *lights made in the Firmament of heaven* which never will be, unlesse thy heart be there: nor will that ever be, unlesse there thy treasure be also; like as thou hearest of our good master. But that barren earth was sorry at that^a saying; and the *thorns choaked the word in him*.

2. But you, O chosen generation, you *weak things of the world*, who have forsaken all, that ye may follow the Lord; go ye now after him, and confound the strong; go after him, O ye beautifull feet, and shine ye in the Firmament, that the heavens may declare his glory; you, that are mid-way between the light and the perfect ones; though not so perfect yet as the Angels; and the darknesse of the little ones; though not utterly despised. Shine ye over all the earth; and let one day enlightened by the Sun, utter unto another day, Psa. 19. 2. a speech of Wisdome; and one night, enlightened by the Moon, shew unto another night, a word of knowledge. The Moon and Stars shine in the night; yet doth not the night obscure them; seeing they give that light unto it, which it is capable of. For behold, as if God had given the word, *Let there be lights in the Firmament of heaven*; there came suddenly a sound from heaven, as it had been the rushing of a mighty wind, and there appeared cloven tongues like as it had been of fire, and it sate upon each of them Act. 2. 2. And there were made lights in the Firma-

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ment of heaven, which had the word of life in them. Fly every where about, O you holy fires, O you beauteous fires, for you are the light of the world, nor are you put under a bushell; he whom you cleave unto, is exalted himself, and hath exalted you. Run you abroad, and make yourselves known unto all nations.

CHAP. XX.

He Allegorizes upon the Creation of Spirituall things.

1. **L** Et the Sea also conceive and bring forth your works; and let the waters bring forth the moving creature * that hath life. For you by separating the good from the bad, are made the mouth of God, by whom he said, *let the waters bring forth*: not a living soule which the earth brings forth, but the moving creature having life in it, and the winged soules that flye over the earth. For thy Sacraments, O God, by the ministry of thy holy ones, have moved in the middest of the waves of temptation of this present world, for the trayning up of the Gentiles unto thy name, in thy baptism: In the doing whereof, many a great wonder was wrought, resembling the huge Whales: and the voyces of thy Messengers flying above the Earth, in the open

* These *Allegories* had some meaning against the *Manichees*: seeing in his booke *de Genesi, contra Manicheos*, they be again repeated which see.

Firmament: of thy Bible; that being set over them as their authority* under which they were to fly, whithersoever they went. For *there is no speech nor language, where their voice is not heard: Seeing their sound is gone thorow all the Earth, and their words to the end of the world*, *Pla. 19. 4.* because thou, O Lord, hast enlarged them by thy blessing.

2. Say I not true, or do I mingle and confound, and not sufficiently distinguish between the knowledge of these lightsome creatures that are in the Firmament of heaven, and these corporeall works in the wavy Sea, and those things that are under the Firmament of heaven? For of those things whereof the understanding is solid, and bounded within themselves, without any increases of their generation: (like the lights of Wisdom and Knowledge as it were) yet even of them, the operations be corporeall, many, and divers, and one thing growing out of another, they are multiplyed by thy blessing, O God, who hast refreshed our soon cloyed mortall senses; that so the thing which is but one in the understanding of our mind, may, by the motions of our bodies, be many severall wayes* set out, and discoursed upon. These Sacraments have the Waters brought forth: yea indeed the* necessi-

* Now what will the Papists say to this most cleere authority of the *Scripture*? Do the popish *Emissaries* flye hither under this, or with this Authority? No, but rather with the Popes. Nay fly they not contrary to this authority? If not, why do they so much complain of, and vilifie the *Scripture*, where its authority serves not their turns?

* The same sentence may *Roscins* Act, and *Cicero* describe severall wayes.

a He alludes to Baptism in water, accompanied with the word of the Gospel; of the institution whereof, mans misery was the occasion.

ties of the people estranged from the eternity of thy truth, have brought them forth in thy Word, that is, in thy *Gospel* : Because indeed the Waters cast them forth; the bitterneſſe whereof was the very cauſe, why theſe *Sacraments* went along accompanied with thy Word.

3. Now are all things faire that thou haſt made; but loe, thy ſelf is infinitely fairer, that madeſt all theſe : from whom had not *Adam* faln, this *brackiſhneſſe* of the *Sea* had never flowed out of his loyns: namely, this mankind, ſo profoundly, and ſo tempeſtuouſly ſwelling, and ſo reſtleſly tumbling up and down. And then, had there been no neceſſity of thy *ministers* to work in many waters, after a *corporeall* and *ſenſible* manner, ſuch myſterious doings and ſayings. For in this ſenſe have thoſe *moving flying creatures*, at this preſent fallen into my meditation; in which, people being trained up and admitted into, though they had received *corporeall Sacraments*^a, ſhould not for all this be able to profit by them, unleſſe their ſoule were alſo quickened up unto a higher pitch, and unleſſe after the word of *admiſſion*, it looked forwards to *perfection*.

^a He means that *Baptiſm* which is the Sacrament of *Initiation*, was not ſo profitable without the *Lords Supper*, which Ancients called the Sacrament of *perfection*, or *conſummation*.

CHAP. XXI.

He allegorizes upon the Creation of Birds and fiſhes; alluding by them unto ſuch as have received the Lords ſupper, are better taught and mortified, which are perfecter Chriſtians then the meerely baptized.

1. **A**Nd hereby, by vertue of thy Word, not the deepnesse of the *sea*, but the earth it self once separated from the bitternesse of the waters, brings forth, not the creeping and flying creatures of *souls* having life in them, but the living soul it self, Gen. 1. 20. Gen. 2. 7. which hath now no more need of *Baptisme*, as the heathen yet have, & as it self also had, when it was covered heretofore with the waters. For there is entrance into the kingdom of heaven no other way, * since the time that thou hast instituted this Sacrament for men to enter by: nor does the living soul any more seek after miracles to work beliefe; nor is it so with it any longer, That *unlesse it sees signs and wonders, it will not beleefe*; now that the faithful earth is separated from the waters that were bitter with infidelity; and that *tongues are for a sign, not to them that beleefe, but to them that beleefe not*. The earth therefore which *thou hast founded upon the waters*, hath no more need now of that *flying kind*, which at thy word the waters brought forth. Send thou thy word into it by thy Messengers: for their *labors* indeed they are which we speak of; but yet *thou art he that worketh* in them that they may work a soul to have life in it.

2. The earth brings forth: that is, the earth is the cause that * they work this in the soul: like as the sea was the cause that they wrought upon the moving things that have life in them; as also upon

* Baptisme, which is necessary generally, though not alwayes, and particularly, where the meanes are not. And the *Schoolmen* teach, that *Martyrdome*, and an earnest desire, do countervaille the want of Baptisme.

c Gods Messengers.

the fowles that flie in the open *firm ment* of heaven: of whom *this Earth* hath no need; although it feeds upon that fish which was taken out of the deepe, upon that Table which thou hast prepared for the faithfull. For therefore was ^a He taken out of the Deepe, that he might feed the Dry land: and the foule, though bred in the Sea, is yet multiplied upon the Earth. For of the first preachings of the Evangelists, mans infidelity was the cause; yet give they good exhortations unto the *faithfull* also; yea, and many ways do they blesse them from day to day. But as for the living soul; that took his beginning from the Earth: for it profits not the faithful, unless they can contain themselves from the love of this world: that so their soule may only live unto thee, which was *dead while it lived in pleasure*; in such pleasures Lord, as bring death with them. For tis thou, O Lord, that art the vitall delight of a pure heart.

3. Now therefore let thy *Ministers* work upon *this earth*: not as sometimes they did upon the waters of infidelity, when they preached, and spake by miracles, and Sacraments, and mysterious expressions: when as Ignorance, the mother of Admiration, might give good ear unto them, out of a reverent feare it had towards those secret wonders. For such is the entrance that is made unto faith, by the sons of *Adam* forgetful of thee, while they hide themselves from thee, & are becom a darksom deep. But let thy *Ministers* work now as upon *dry land*, that is sepa

^a He means *Christ*; the first letters of whose names did in Sybiles Acrostick verses make up the word *ΙΧΘΥς* A Fish. He was also resembled by *Jonas* drawn out of the *Fish* and *Deep*. And himself was raised from the *Grave* and *Hell*. He is fed upon at the Communion, See also Luk. 24. 36.

also maist know it, and that for thee there may be *lights made in the Firmament of heaven* which never will be, unlesse thy heart be there: nor will that ever be, unlesse there thy treasure be also; like as thou hearest of our good master. But that barren earth was sorry at that^a saying; and the thorns choaked the word in him.

a. But you, O chosen generation, you *weak things of the world*, who have forsaken all, that ye may follow the Lord; go ye now after him, and confound the strong; go after him, O ye beautifull feet, and shine ye in the Firmament, that the heavens may declare his glory; you, that are mid-way between the light and the perfect ones; though not so perfect yet as the Angels; and the darknesse of the little ones; though nor utterly despised. Shine ye over all the earth; and let one day enlightened by the Sun, utter unto another day, *Pla. 19. 2.* a speech of Wisdome; and one night, enlightened by the Moon, shew unto another night, a word of knowledge. The Moon and Stars shine in the night; yet doth not the night obscure them; seeing they give that light unto it, which it is capable of. For behold, as if God had given the word, *Let there be lights in the Firmament of heaven*; there came suddenly a sound from heaven, as it had been the rushing of a mighty wind, and there appeared cloven tongues like as it had been of fire, and it sate upon each of them *Act. 2. 2.* And there were made lights in the Firma-

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CHAP. XX.

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* The same sentence may *Roscins* Act, and *Cicero* describe severall wayes.

* He alludes to Baptism in water, accompanied with the word of the Gospel; of the institution whereof, mans misery was the occasion.

ties of the people estranged from the eternity of thy truth, have brought them forth in thy Word, that is, in thy Gospel: Because indeed the Waters cast them forth; the bitterneſſe whereof was the very cauſe, why theſe *Sacraments* went along accompanied with thy Word.

3. Now are all things faire that thou haſt made; but loe, thy ſelf is infinitely fairer, that madeſt all theſe: from whom had not *Adam* fallen, this *brackiſhneſſe* of the *Sea* had never flowed out of his loyns: namely, this mankind, ſo profoundly, and ſo rempeſtuouſly ſwelling, and ſo reſtleſſy tumbling up and down. And then, had there been no neceſſity of thy *miniſters* to work in many waters, after a *corporeall* and *ſenſible* manner, ſuch myſterious doings and ſayings. For in this ſenſe have thoſe *moving flying creatures*, at this preſent fallen into my meditation; in which, people being trained up and admitted into, though they had received *corporeall Sacraments*, ſhould not for all this be able to profit by them, unleſſe their ſoule were alſo quickened up unto a higher pitch, and unleſſe after the word of *admiſſion*, it looked forwards to *perfection*.

a He means that *Baptiſm* which is the Sacrament of *Indiſſion*, was not ſo profitable without the *Lords Supper*, which Ancients called the Sacrament of *perfection*, or *conſummation*.

CHAP. XXI.

He allegorizes upon the Creation of Birds and Fiſhes; alluding by them unto ſuch as have received the Lords ſupper, are better taught and mortified, which are perfecter Chriſtians then the meereſly baptized.

1. **A**Nd hereby, by vertue of thy Word, not the deepnesse of the *sea*, but the earth it self once separated from the bitternesse of the waters, brings forth, not the creeping and flying creatures of *souls having life in them*, but the living soul it self, Gen. 1. 20. Gen. 2. 7. which hath now no more need of *Baptisme*, as the heathen yet have, & as it self also had, when it was covered heretofore with the waters. For there is entrance into the kingdom of heaven no other way, * since the time that thou hast instituted this Sacrament for men to enter by: nor does the living soul any more seek after miracles to work belief; nor is it so with it any longer, That *unlesse it see signs and wonders, it will not believe*; now that the faithful earth is separated from the waters that were bitter with infidelity; and that *tongues are for a sign, not to them that believe, but to them that believe not*. The earth therefore which *thou hast founded upon the waters*, hath no more need now of that *flying kind*, which at thy word the waters brought forth. Send thou thy word into it by thy Messengers: for their *labors* indeed they are which we speak of; but yet *thou art he that worketh* in them that they may work a *soul to have life* in it.

2. The *earth* brings forth: that is, the *earth* is the cause that they work this in the soul: like as the *sea* was the cause that they wrought upon the moving things that have life in them; as also upon

* *Baptisme*, which is necessary generally, though not alwayes, and particularly, where the meanes are not. And the *Schoolmen* teach, that *Martyrdome*, and an earnest desire, do countervail the want of Baptisme.

c Gods Messengers.

the

the fowles that flie in the open firm^{ment} of beaven: of whom *this Earth* hath no need; although it feeds upon that fish which was taken out of the deepe, upon that Table which thou hast prepared for the faithfull. For therefore was ^a He taken out of the Deepe, that he might feed the Dry land: and the foule, though bred in the Sea, is yet multiplied upon the Earth. For of the first preachings of the Evangelists, mans infidelity was the cause; yet give they good exhortations unto the *faithfull* also, yea, and many ways do they blesse them from day to day. But as for the living soul; that took his begining from the Earth: for it profits not the faithfull, unlesse they can contain themselves from the love of this world: that so their soule may only live unto thee, which was dead while it lived in pleasure; in such pleasures Lord, as bring death with them. For tis thou, O Lord, that art the vitall delight of a pure heart.

3. Now therefore let thy *Ministers* work upon *this earth*: not as sometimes they did upon the waters of infidelity, when they preached, and spake by miracles, and Sacraments, and mysterious expressions: when as Ignorance, the mother of Admiration, might give good ear unto them, out of a reverent feare it had towards those secret wonders. For such is the entrance that is made unto faith, by the sons of *Adam* forgetful of thee, while they hide themselves from thee, & are becom a darksome deep. But let thy *Ministers* work now as upon dry land, that is sepa

^a He means *Christ*; the first letters of whose names did in sybiles Acrostick verses make up the word *ΙΧΘΥΣ* A Fish. He was also resembled by *Jonas* drawn out of the Fish and Deep. And himself was raised from the Grave and Hell. He is fed upon at the Communion, See also Luk. 24. 36.

rated from the

the gulfs of the great deep : and let them be a pattern unto the faithfull, by *living* before them, and by stirring them up to imitation. For thus are eyes to hear; not with an intent to hearken only, but to do also. *Seek the Lord, and your soul shall live*, ps. 69. 31. That the Earth may bring forth the *living soule*. *Be not conformed to this world*; Rom. 12. 2. Contain your selves from it : then shall your souls live by avoiding it, which dyed by affecting it.

4. Contain your selves from the immoderate wild humour of pride, the litherly voluptuousnesse of lust, and the false name of *knowledge*; 1 Tim. 6. 20. that so the wild beasts may be tamed; the cattell made tractable, and the Serpents, harmlesse. For these be the motions of our mind under an *Allegory*; that is to say, the haughtynes of pride, the delight of lust, and the poyson of curiosity; these be the motions of a dead soul; for the soul dyes not so utterly, as that it wants all motion; because it dying by departing from the fountain of life, is therupon taken up by this transitory world, and is *conformed unto it*. But thy word, O God, is the fountain of eternal life; and that never passeth away : wherefore this departure of the soule is restrained by thy word, when tis said unto us, *Be not conformed unto this world*; that so the earth may in the fountain of life bring forth a living soule : that is, a soule made continent by vertue of thy Word, delivered by thy *Evangelists*, and by following the followers of Christ, 1 Cor. 11. 1. This is indeed to live after his kind; because the emulation a man takes, is from his friend. *Be ye* (saith he) *as I am, for I am as ye are*. Gal. 4. 12. Thus in this *living soule* shall there be good beasts. meek in their actions. For

That is, good motions.

thou.

thou hast commanded, *Go on with thy businesse in meeknesse, so shalt thou be beloved of all men, Eccl. 3. 17.* And there shall be good cattell in it too; which neither if they eat much, shall have nothing over, nor if they eat little, any lack: and good Serpents; not dangerous, to do hurt; but wise to take heed: such as will make such a search into this temporall nature, as may be sufficient; that Gods eternity may be cleerly seene, being understood by the things that are made, Rom. 1. 20. For these creatures are then obedient unto Reason, when being once restrained from their deadly prevailing upon us, they live, and become good.

CHAP. XXII.

Of Regeneration by the Spirit. He allegorizeth upon the Creation of man.

1. **F**OR behold, O Lord, our God, our creator, so soon as ever our affections are restrained from the love of the world; by which we dyed through our evil-living; and began to be a living soule, through our good living; and that the word which thou hast spoken by thy Apostle, shall be made good in us, *Be not conformed to this world: Rom. 12. 2.* that next followes upon it, which thou presently subjoynedst, saying, *But be ye transformed by the renewing of your mind: not as living now after your kind, as if you followed your neighbour next before you; nor yet as living after the example of some better man: for thou didst not say, Let man be made after his kind, but, Let us make man after our own image and similitude: that we might prove what thy will is, Gen. 1. 26.*

For

For to this purpose said that dispenſer of thine, (who begets children by the Gospel, that he might not ever have them *babes*, whom he muſt be ſain to feed with milk, and bring up like a nurſe :) *be ye transformed* (ſaith he) *by the renewing of your mind, that ye may prove what is that good and acceptable and perfect will of God*, Rom. 12. 2. Wherefore thou ſayeſt not, *Let man be made*, but, *Let us make man*. Nor ſaidſt thou, *According to his kind*; but, *After our own Image and likenesse*. For man being renewed in his mind, and able to diſcern and underſtand thy truth, needs no more any direction of man, to follow after his *kind* : but by thy ſhewing doth he prove *what is that good, that acceptable, and perfect will of thine* : yea, thou teachest him that is now made capable, to diſcern the *Trinity of the Unity*, & the *Unity of the Trinity*. Whereas therefore it was ſpoken in the plurall number, *Let us make man*, yet is it preſently inferred in the ſingular, *And God made man*: and whereas tis ſaid in the plural number, *After our own likneſſe*; yet is inferred in the ſingular, *After the Image of God*. Thus is man renewed unto the knowledge of God, after the Image of him that created him; and being made ſpiritually, he now judgeth all things, (thoſe namely that are to be judged) yet he himſelf is judged of no man. 1 Cor. 2. 15

CHAP. XXIII.

Of what things a Chriſtian may judge. He allegorizes upon mans dominion over the creatures.

1. **T**HAT he now judgeth all things, this is the meaning; That he hath dominion over the fiſh
of

of the sea, and over the fowls of the ayre, and over all cattell and wild beasts, and over all the earth, and over every creeping thing that creepeth upon the earth. For this he excelleth by the understanding of his mind, by the which he perceiveth the things of the Spirit of God; 1 Cor. 2. 14, whereas otherwise, being in honor, had no understanding (Ps. 49. 10.) and is compared unto the unreasonable beast, and is become like unto them. In thy Church therefore, O our God, according to thy grace which thou hast bestowed upon it (for we are thy workmanship, created unto good works: Eph. 2. 10.) are there not those only who govern spiritually, but they also which spiritually obey those that are over them, for male and female hath thou made man, even this way too, in the account of thy grace spiritual, in which, according to the sex of body there is neither male nor female, because neither Jew nor Grecian, neither bond nor free: Col. 3. 11.

1. Spiritual persons therefore, (whether such as govern, or such as obey,) do judge spiritually; not upon those spirituall thoughts which shine in the Firmament, (for they ought not to passe their judgment upon so suprem authority!) for they may not censure thy Bible, notwithstanding something in it shines not out clearly enough: for we submit our understanding unto that, and hold for certain, that even that which is shut from our eyes, to be most rightly and truly spoken. For so a man, though he be spirituall and renewed unto the knowledge of God after his Image that created him; yet may he not presume to be a Judge of the law, but a doer only. Neither taketh he upon him to judge of that distinction

The Clergy and Laity.

of Spirituall and carnall men; not of those namely which are known unto thine eyes, O our God, and have not as yet discovered themselves unto us by any of their works, that by *their fruits we might be able to know them*. Iam. 4. 11. Mat. 7. 16. but thou, Lord, dost even now know them, and hast already distinguished them; yea and called them in secret, or ever the Firmament was created.

3. Nor yet as he is spirituall, doth he passe his censure upon the unquiet people of this present world: *For what hath ignorant he to do, to judge those that are without?* 1 Cor. 5. 12. which of them is likely to come hereafter into the sweetnesse of thy grace; and which likely to continue in the perpetual bitterness of unbelief? Man therefore whom thou hast made after thine own image, hath not received dominion over the light of Heaven; nor over the secrets of heaven it selfe: nor over the day and the night, which thou calledst before the foundation of the world; nor yet over the *gathering together of the waters*, which is the Sea: but he hath received dominion over the Fishes of the Sea, and the Fowles of the ayre, and over all Cattel, and over all the Earth, and over all creeping things which creep upon the Earth. For he judgeth & approveth that which is right; and he disalloweth what he findeth amisse: be it either in the solemnity of that Sacrament by which such are admitted into the Church, as thy mercy searches out among many waters:^a Or in that other, in w^{ch}. that Fish is received, which once taken out of the Deep,

Against this most clear place my Papist notes, *That the Doctors may judge of Scripture, not to controvert it, but to expound it.* But may they expound as they list, what authority hath the Scripture then?

^a Observe here, that he gives a hint but of two Sacraments. the

the devout earth now feedeth upon; or else in such expressions and sounds of words, as are subject to the authority of thy Bible; (like the Fowls as it were flying under the Firmament) namely, by interpreting, expounding, discoursing, disputing, consecrating or praying unto thee with the mouth, with expressions breaking forth and a loud sounding that the people may answer, * *Amen*.

4. For the vocal pronouncing of all which words, the occasion grows from the darksome Deep of this present world, and from the blindness of flesh and blood; seeing that by bare conceiving in the mind, they cannot be perceived: so that necessary it is to speak loud unto our ears. This, notwithstanding the flying Fowls be multiplyed upon the earth, yet they derive their beginning from the Waters. The Spiritual man judgeth also by allowing of what is right, and by disallowing what he finds amiss, in the words and manners of the faithfull; yea and in their alms too, which resemble the Earth bringing forth fruit, and of the whole living Soul, that hath tamed her own affections, by chastity, by fasting, and by holy meditations; and of all those things too, which are subject to the senses of the body. Upon all these is he now said to judge; and over all these, hath he absolute power of correction.

¶ See chap. 21. in the margin.

* 1 Cor. 14. 16. Thus the Primitive Luty used to say when the Bishop had done consecrating of the Sacrament: and when he gave the *Gratia*, that is the consecrated piece into their hand, with such a prayer as we now do. Tertul. Edes. p. 16. c. 26. Euseb. lib. 6. c. 38.

CHAP. XXIV.

He allegorizes upon Increase and multiply

Y 2

4. But

1. **B**ut what is this now, and what kind of myste-
ry? Behold, thou blestest mankinde, O Lord,
that they may *increase and multiply*, and *replenish the*
Earth: dost thou not give *unpiously* him to learn
something by? why didst thou not as well blese the
light, which thou calledst day; or the Firmament of
heaven, or the lightes, or the stars, or the Earth or the
Sea? I might say O God, that created us after thine
own Image; I might say, that it had been thy good
pleasure to have bestowed this blessing peculiarly
upon man: hadst thou not in like manner blessed the
Fishes and the Whales, that they also should *increase*
and multiply, and *replenish the waters of the Sea*, and
that the *Fowls* should be *multiplied upon the Earth*. I
might say likewise, that this blessing pertained pro-
perly unto those creatures, as are bred of their own
kind; had I found it given to the Fruit-trees, and
Plants, and Beasts of the Earth. * But neither unto
the herbs, nor the trees, nor the beasts, or Serpents
is it said, *increase and multiply*: notwithstanding that
all these as well as the Fishes, Fowls or Men, do by ge-
neration both increase and continue their kind.

2. What then shall I say to it, O thou truth my
light? Shall I say that it was idly? that it was vainly
said? Not so, O Father of piety, far be it from a Mi-
nister of thine own Word to say so. And notwith-
standing I fully understand not what that Phrase
meaneth, yet may others that are better, that is, more
understanding then my self, make better use of it; ac-
cording as thou, O my God, hast inabled every man
to understand: but let this confession of mine be
pleasing in thine eyes, for that I confesse unto thee,

* Here the other Translator by putting in of *Not*, contra-
dicts both the scripture and himself; But I pardon him; for
some his false copy deceived him. O

O Lord, how that I firmly beleve, thou speakest not that word in vain; nor will I conceal that, with the occasion of reading this place hath put into my mind.

3. For most true it is, nor do I see what should hinder me from thus understanding the *figurative phrases* of thy Bible. For I know a thing to be manifoldly signified by corporeall expressions, which the mind understands all one way; and another thing again understood many wayes in the mind which is signified but one way by corporeall expression. See (for example) the single love of God and our neighbour, in what a variety of mysteries, and innumerable languages; and in each severall language, in how innumerable phrases of speaking, it is corporeally expressed: and thus doth this Fry of the waters increase and multiply. Observe again, Reader, who ever thou art behold, I say, that which the Scripture delivers, and the voice pronounces one only way, *In the Beginning God created Heaven and Earth*, is it not understood many a severall way; nor with any deceit of error, but in several kinds of very true senses? Thus does mans of spring increase and multiply.

4. If therefore we can conceive of the natures of things, not allegorecally, but properly, then may the phrase increase and multiply, very well agree unto all things whatsoever, that come of any kind of seed. But if we intreat of the words as figuratively spoken, (which I rather suppose to be the purpose of the Scripture, which doth not, I beleve, superfluously attribute this *benediction* unto the increases of watery and humane creatures only:) then verily do we find multitudes, both in creatures spiritual, and creatures corporeal, as in Heaven and Earth, and in Souls both righteous and unrighteous, as in light

and darknesse; and in holy Authors who have been the Ministers of the Law unto us, as in the Firmament which is setled betwixt the higher and the lower Waters; and in the society of people yet in the bitterness of infidelity as in the Sea; and in the studies of holy souls, as in the dry land; and in the works of mercy done in this life, as in the *beiribed* ring seed, and in the fruitfull trees; and in spirituall gifts shining forth for our edification, as in the lights of heaven; and in mens affections reformed unto temperance, as in the living soules in all these instances we meet with multitude, abundance, and Increase.

5. But that such an increase and multiplying should come as that one thing may be understood and expressed many ways; and one of those expressions understood severall ways too; we do now where find, except in words corporeally expressed, and in things intelligibly divided. By these words corporeally pronounced, we understand the generations of the waters: and that for the necessary causes of fleshly profundity: by these things intelligibly divided, we understand humane generations; and that for the fruitfulness of their reason. And even therefore we beleeve thee Lord to have said to these kinds, Increase and multiply: for that within the compasse of this blessing, I conceive thee to have granted us a power and a faculty, both to expresse severall wayes that which we understand but one; & to understand severall ways, that which we read to be obscurely delivered but in one. Thus are the *waters of the Sea replenished*, w^{ch} are not moved but by severall significations: thus with humane increase is the earth also replenished, whose drynes appeared by its affections, over which reason ruleth.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXV.

*He allegorically compareth the Fruits of the Earth,
unto the duties of piety.*

I Will now also deliver, O Lord my God, that which the following Scripture puts me in mind of; yea, I will deliver it without fear. For I will utter the truth, thy self inspiring me with what thy pleasure was, to have me deliver concerning those words. But by no other inspiration then thine, can I beleeve my self to speak truth; seeing thou art the very truth, and every man a lyer. *PL. 116. 11* He therefore that speaketh a lyer, speaketh it of his own: *Joh. 8. 44* that therefore I may speak truth, I will speak it from thee. Behold, thou hast given unto us for food every herb bearing seed which is upon the face of all the earth: and every tree, in which is the fruit of a tree yielding seed. And that not to us alone, but also to all the Fowls of the ayre, and to the beasts of the earth, and to all creeping things: but unto the Fishes and to the great whales, hast thou not given them.

2. Now by these fruits of the earth we said before that the *works of mercy* were signified, and figured out in an *Allegory*; which for the necessities of this life are afforded us out of a fruitfull earth. Such an Earth was the devout *Onesiphorus*, unto whose house thou gavest mercy, who often refreshed thy Paul, and was not ashamed of his chaine, *1 Tim. 1. 16*. With such a crop were those Brethren fruitfull also, who out of Macedonia supplied his wants. But how much grieved he for such trees, as did not afford him the fruit due unto him, where he saith, *At my first answer no man stood by me, but a'l men forsook me.* I pray God that it may not be laid to thy charge. For these fruits are due unto such, as minister the

Spiritual^a doctrine unto us, out of their understanding of the divine Mysteries: and they are due so unto them, as they are men: yea and due so unto them also, as unto living fowles, in that they give themselves as patterns of imitation, in all continency: And so are they due unto them also, as they are flying fowles; for their Blessings which are multiplied upon the earth; because their sound is gone out into all lands.

^a *Rationalia*. An old Epistle to a gift of the holy things. See *Rationalia* for a Rom. 13: 1. *As jacobus yala* 1 Pet. 2: 2. *fructus* with etc. *allic. c. l. bap. l. f. c. d.* And in crassat Apost. 1. 6. c. 23. the Eucharist is called A reasonable sacrifice. The word was used to distinguish Christi- an mysteries from Jewish. *Rationalia est spirituale.*

CHAP. XXVI.

The pleasure and the profit redounding to us, out of a good turn done unto our neighbour.

They now are fed by these fruits, that are delighted with them: nor are those delighted with them, whose belly is their God: Neither yet even in them that yield them, is that the fruit which they yield; but the mind, with which they afford them. He therefore that served God, and not his own belly, I plainly see the thing that caused him so to rejoyce; I see it, and I rejoyce with him. For he had received fruit from the Philippians, who had sent it by Epaphroditus unto him: & yet I still perceive the cause of his rejoycing. For that which he rejoyced, upon that he fed because he speaking as truth was, of it; I rejoyced, (saith he) greatly in the Lord, that now at last your care of me hath flourished again, wherein ye were also careful, but it was tedious unto you. These Phil-

Philippians therefore had now even rotted away with a longsom irksomnes, and withered as it were, in respect of the fruit of this good work: and he now rejoyceth for them (not for himself) that they flourish again; in as much as they now supplied his want. Therefore saith he afterwards; *This I speak not in respect of want; for I have learned in whatsoever state I am, therewith to be content. I know both how to be abased, and I know how to abound: every where, and in all things I am instructed both to be full, and to be hungry; both to abound, and to suffer need. I can do all things through him which strengtheneth me.*

2. Of what art thou so glad, O great Paul? of what art thou so glad? what is it thou so feedest upon, O thou man, renewed in the knowledge of God, after the image of him that created thee, thou living soule, of so much continency, thou tongue of flying foules speaking such mysteries? (for to such creatures, is this food due) what is it that thus feeds thee? Joy? list then to what follows: *Notwithstanding ye have well done, that ye did communicate with my affliction. Phi. 4. 14.* For this he rejoyceth, upon this he fed: even because they were beneficiall unto him; not because his freight was eased by them: he who saith unto thee, *Thou hast enlarged me when I was in distresse. Pl. 4. 1.* for that he knew to abound, and to suffer want, through thy self who strengthenest him. For ye Philippians know (saith he) that in the beginning of the Gospel, when I departed from Macedonia, no Church communicated with me as concerning giving and receiving, but ye only. For even in Thessalonica ye sent once and again unto my necessity. Ph. 4. 15

3. Unto these good works, he now rejoyceth that they are returned; & he is as glad that they flourish

shed again, as at the fruitfulness of a field that begins to grow green again. But was it for his own necessities, that he said, Ye sent unto my necessities? Rejoyceth he for that? Verily not for that. But how know we that? Because himself says immediately, *not because I desire a gift, but I desire fruit.* I have learned of thy selfe, O my God, to distinguish betwixt a gift, and fruit. A gift, is the very thing which he gives, that imparts these necessities unto us; as money, meat, drink, cloathing, harbour, help: but the fruit, is the good and the upright will of the giver. For our good Master says not barely, *He that receiveth a Prophet,* but adds, *in the name of a Prophet,* Mat. 10. 41. Nor does he only say, *He that receiveth a righteous man,* but addeth, *in the name of a righteous man:* one verily shall receive the reward of a prophet; and the other, the reward of a righteous man. Nor saith he only, *He that shall give to dring a cup of cold water to one of my little ones,* but he added, *in the name of a Disciple:* and so concludeth, *Verily I say unto you, he shall not lose his reward.* The Gift here is, *To receive a Prophet, to receive a righteous man, to give a cup of cold water to a Disciple:* but the fruit is to do it *in the name of a prophet, in the name of a righteous man, in the name of a Disciple.* With the fruit was Eliab fed by the widdow that knew she fed a *man of God*; and that even therefore she did feed him: but with the Gift did the Raven feed him. Nor was the *inner man* of Eliab so fed, but the *outer man* only: whomight also for want of that food have perished.

CHAP. XXVII.

He allegorizes upon the Fishes and the whales.

1. **I** Will here therefore, O Lord, speak what is true in thy sight: namely, that when ignorant men & infidels

infidels (for the gaining and admitting of whom into the Church, these Sacraments of beginnings, and the mighty workings of miracles are necessary, which we have supposed to be signified under the name of Fishes and Whales) do give entertainment for bodily refreshment, or otherwise succour with something usefull for this present life, unto thy Children; when as themselves be ignorant, either what to do, and to what end; neither do those feed these, nor are these fed by those: because that neither do the one sort do it out of an holy and upright intent; nor the other sort rejoyce at their gifts, whose fruit they as yet behold not. For upon that is the mind fed, of which it is glad. And therefore do not the Fishes and Whales feed upon such meats, as the Earth brings forth, untill after it was separated and divided from the bitterness of the Sea-waters.

CHAP. XXVIII.

Very good, why added last of all?

1. **A**ND thou O God, sawest every thing that thou hadst made, and behold, it was very good. Yea even we have seen the same, and lo, every thing is very good. After every severall kind of thy works, when thou hadst said the word that they should be made, and they were made, thou then sawest both this and that, *that it was good*. Seven times have I counted it to be written, that thou sawest *that every thing was good which thou madest*: and this is the eighth, that thou sawest every thing that thou hadst made, and behold, it was not only good, but also *very good*; as being now altogether. For severally, they were only good; but altogether, both good, and *very good*. In this manner is every kind of body said to be fayrer; by reason that a body is far more beautiful,

(full, which is made up of all its members, then the
 those members are, when by themselves: by whose
 most orderly conjunction, the whole groweth to be
 complete: notwithstanding that the members sever-
 ally viewed, be also beautiful.

CHAP. XXIX.

God's works are good for ever.

AND I more narrowly looked to find, whether
 it were seven, or eight times that thou saw-
 est that thy works were good, when as they pleased
 thee: but in that seeing of thine I found no times, by
 direction of which I might understand how that
 thou wast so often, that which thou hadst made.
 And I said; Lord, is not this thy Scripture true, since
 thou art true, and thou who art Truth hast set it
 forth? why then doest thou say unto me, *That in thy*
seeing there be no times; whereas behold, thy Scrip-
 ture tells me, that what thou madest every day, thou
 findest it to be good: and when I counted them,
 I found how often. Unto this thou answerest me
 that thou art my God, and with a strong voyce thou
 tellest thy servant in his inner ear, breaking through
 my doubts and crying *O man, that which my Scrip-
 ture saith; that I my self say: and yet doth that speak*
in mine ear: where as mine own word saith not within the
compass of time; because my word consists in equall
 eternity with my self. Even thus the self same things
 which you men see by my Spirit, do I also see; like
 as what you speak by my Spirit, I my self speak. And
 as I see other side, when you see the very same things in
 compass of time, I do not see them in the compass of
 time: in like manner, when as you speak the same
 things in the compass of time, I my self do not speak
 them in the compass of time.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXX.

Against those who dislike Gods works.

1. **A**Nd I over-heard, O Lord my God, and I licked up a drop of sweetnesse out of the truth: and I understood, that certain men there be who mislike of thy good works: and who say, that thou madest many of them, meerely compelled by necessity; instancing in the Fabrick of the heavens, and in the ordering of the Stars: and that thou never madest them of thy self, but that they were otherwise ready created to thy hand; which thou only drewest together, and joyneest one to another, and framedst up, at such time as against thine enemies now newly overcome, thou raydest up the Walls of the world; that by this building they being utterly now defeated, might never again be able to rebel against thee. As for other things (they say) thou never at all madest them, nor ever so much as joyneest them together. Instancing in all kinds of beasts, and in all sorts of these, smaller creatures, and whatsoever thing hath its root in the earth: but that a certain mind at enmity with thee, and another nature which thou createdst not, and which was contrary unto thee, did, in these lower stages of the world, beget and frame these things. Mad men are they to affirm thus: because they look not upon thy works by thy Spirit, neither do they know thee in them.

CHAP. XXXI.

The Godly allow that, which is pleasing to God.

1. **B**UT whosoever by Thy Spirit discerns these things, is Thou that discernest in them. Therefore when they see that these things are good, Thou

seest that they are good; and whatsoever for thy sake gives content, tis Thou that givest content in it, and what by means of thy Spirit please us, they please Thee in us. For what man knoweth the things of a man, save the Spirit of a man, which is in him? even so the things of God knoweth no man, but the Spirit of God: 1 Cor. 2. 11. Now we (saith he) have received; not the spirit of the world, but the spirit which is of God, that we might know the things that are freely given us of God. I am hereupon put in mind still to say, That the things of God knoweth no man, but the Spirit of God: how then can we know, what things are given us of God? Answer is made me. That those things which we know by his spirit, no man in that manner knoweth them, but the spirit of God. For as it is said, unto those that were to speak by the spirit; *It is not you that speak*, Mat. 10. 20. so is it as rightly said to them that know through the spirit of God, *It is not you that know*. Nevertheless therefore as it is rightly said to those that see through the Spirit of God; *It is not you that see*: so whatsoever through the spirit of God they see to be good, tis not they, but God that sees that it is good.

2. Tis one thing therefore for a man to think that to be ill which indeed is good, as the forenamed Manichees do: and another thing, that what is good, a man should see to be so, because indeed it is so. Even just as thy creatures be pleasing unto divers, because they be good; whom for all that Thou Thy self dost not please in those creatures; so that rather had they enjoy them, then Thee. Yea and another thing it is, That when a man sees any thing that it is good, tis God that sees in him that it is good, and that to this end plainly, That himself might be loved

ved in his creature: for he should never be loved, but by the Holy Ghost which he hath given. *Because the love of God is shed abroad in our hearts by the Holy Ghost, which is given unto us: Rom. 5. 5.* By whom we see that a thing is good, whatsoever any way hath any Essence. For from him it is, who himself is not by any way that other things are, but originally of himself is what he is.

CHAP. XXXII.

He briefly summs up the works of God.

1. **T**Hanks to Thee, O Lord. We behold the Heaven and earth, be it either the corporeal part, superior and inferior; or the spiritual and corporeal creature: and in the adorning of these (integral parts) (of which the universall pile of this world, & the whole creation together doth consist) we see light made, and divided from the darknes; we see the Firmament of heaven, or that which between the spiritual upper waters and the inferior corporeal waters, is the first compact body of the world next above this space of Ayr (which it selfe is also stiled heaven) through which wander the souls of heaven, even betwixt those waters which are in vapours lifted up above it, and which in clear night distill down in dew again; and those heavier waters which run therow and upon the earth.

2. We behold a face of waters gathered together in those fields of the Sea; and the dry land both unfurnished and replenisht, that it might be visible & fully shaped; yea and the matter of herbs & Trees.

This piece of Philosophy, uncertainly grounded on Gen. 7. be afterwards recants, *Retractionem. l. 2. c. 8.*

We behold the lights shining from above, the Sun to serve the day, the Moone and the stars to cheer the night; and in all these the severall Seasons to be marked out and signified. We behold on all places kindly moisture blessed with ability, to be fruitful in fishes, beasts and birds: and that the greenesse of the Ayre which bears up the flights of birds, thickneth it selfe by the exhalation of the

3. We behold the face of the earth deckt up with earthly creatures, and Man created after his own Image and likeness, even for that Image and likeness sake, that is the power of reason and understanding made superior to all unreasonable creatures. And like as in his soule there is one power which bears rule by directing, and another nature made subject, that it might obey: even so verily was there a woman made, who in the mind of her reasonable understanding should have a parity of nature with the man, but in the sex of her body, should be in like manner subject to the sex of her husband; as the appetite of doing is faine to conceive the skill of Right doing, even from the rational direction of the understanding. These things we behold, and they are all severally good, and altogether very good.

He alludes to Gen. 1. 26. Here the Popish Translation sayes both in Grammar and Philosophy, turning it Thus. As the appetite of performing humane actions, is made subject to a reasonable understanding, that so discretion may be ingendred between them. That was he is faine to note in his marginal observation the effecting and the reason.

CHAP. XXXII.

How every creature ought to praise the Creator.

Every thing works praise Thee, that we may love Thee; yea let us love Thee, and let all Thy works

works praise Thee: even those which from Time have their beginning, and their ending, their rising and their falling, their growth and their decaying, their form and their privation. They have therefore their succession of morning and evening, partly sensibly, and partly more apparantly: for they were of nothing, made by thy power, not of thy substance, nor of any thing that is not thine, nor of any thing that was before, but of a matter concreated, that is, at once created by Thee: because that into that matter which *was without form and void*, Thou didst introduce a Form, without any distance of time between. For seeing the matter of Heaven and Earth is one thing, and the form is another thing, Thou madest the matter, of merely nothing; but the form of the world thou producedst out of the unformed matter: yet madest both matter and form so just at one instant, that the form should follow the matter, without any respite of delay between.

a He alludes to Gen. 1. 2 And here the other Translator is out again, turning it thus, Because thou didst then create the Incomity thereof without any Interposition of time. *Flar non sence.*

CHAP. XXXIV.

Of the order and various fruit of a Christian life.

1. **W**E have also lookt into this, After whose pattern desirest thou to have these things made in this order, or described in this method: And we have seen, That all things are good singly of themselves, and one with another very good, in Thy Word, even in Thy only Word, both Heaven & earth

a Here the old translator misles again, *propter quorum figurationem*, After whose pattern or figuring out, as the Latine is, which he translates, *For whose sake.*

the head and the body of the Church in thy Predes-
tination, before all times, without^b succession of
morning and evening. In which notwithstanding
Thou beganst in Thy good time to put in execu-
tion Thy predestinated decrees, to the end Thou
mightest reveal hidden things, and rectifie disorder-
ed things; for our sins hung over us, and we had
sunk into the darksome deepnes, and Thy good Spirit
hovered over us, to help us in due season; and Thou
didst justifie the godly, and distinguishedst them
from the wicked; and thou settledst the authority of
Thy Bible between the governours of the Church,
who were to be taught by Thee, & the Inferior peo-
ple, who were to be^c subject to them: and thou hast
gathered together the society of^d unbelievers into
one conspiracy, that the studies of the faithful might
be more apparant, and that their works of mercy
might^e obey Thy commands, they distributing to the
poor their earthly riches, to obtain Heavenly.

And after this didst Thou kindle certain lights in
the firmament, even thy Holy ones, having the word
of life; set aloft by Spiritual gifts, shining with emi-
nent authority: after that again for the instruction
of the unbelieving Gentiles, didst Thou out of a
corporeall matter produce the Sacraments, and cer-
tain visible miracles, and forms of words, according

^b Another mistake upon his reading *five* for *sine*.

^c Subject thus were the people of a Diocesse or Church, cal-
led subjects of the Priest or Bishop over them. And the Bishops
seat at Church, or chaire Episcopale, was called A throne; even
in *Ignatius* time, presently after the Apostles.

^d Here he translates *Believers* for *Unbelievers*, and notes
upon it, *The Church is no Church, unlesse it be in unity and per-
fect agreement*. St. *Austen* alludes to that conspiracy, Pl 2. 2.
which is here prettily made a note and pattern of the Romish
Church. ^e Another negligence, He reads *paierent* for *parent*

to the Firmament of thy Bible; by which the faithful should receive a blessing. Next after that hast Thou formed the living soules of the faithfull, through their affections well ordered by thee vigor of Con-
 tinency: and the mind, after that, subjected to thy self alone and needing to imitate no humane author-
 ity, hast thou renewed after Thine own Image, and similitude; and hast subjected its rational actions to the excellency of the understanding, as a woman to a man; and to all offices of Ministry, necessary for the perfecting of the faithful in this life. Thy great wil is, that for their temporal uses, such good things be given by the said faithful, as may be profitable to themselves in time to come. All these we see, and they are very good, because thou seest them in us, who hast given unto us thy Spirit, by which we might see these things, and might love thee in them.

A notable place for the maintenance of the Clergy, which if well paid, shall be beneficial to the souls of the Laity hereafter.

CHAP. XXXV.

He prays for peace.

GRANT O Lord God, thy peace unto us: for what ever we have, thou hast given us. Give us the peace of quietnes, the peace of the Sabbath, a Sabbath of peace without any evening. For all this most goodly array of things, so very good, having finished their courses, is to passe away, for a morning and an evening was destined out upon them.

CHAP. XXXVI.

Why the seventh day hath no evening.

BUT the seventh day hath no evening, nor hath it any Sun-set: even because thou hast sanctified

sanctified it to an everlasting continuance; that that which Thy self didst after Thy works which were very good, a rest (namely) the seventh day, (although even those works thou createdst without breaking thy rest) the same may the voyce of thy Bible speak before hand unto us, namely, that we also after our works (which are therfore very good, because Thou hast given us grace to do them) may rest in Thee in the Sabbath of life everlasting.

Another note in the old Translater: who turns it, That thy creature might haue rest from being created: and more at ill sense as this, and as far from St. Augustines meaning.

CHAP. XXXVII.

When God shall rest in us.

FOr in that Sabbath Thou shalt for rest in us, as thou now workest in us and so shalt that Rest be thine, by us; even as these works are Thine too, by us. But thou, O Lord, dost work alwayes, and rest alwayes too. Nor dost thou see for a time; nor art thou moved for a time, nor dost rest for a time; and yet thou makest those views which are made in time, yea the very times themselves, and the rest which proceed from time.

CHAP. XXXVIII.

God beholds created things one way, and man another way.

Wherfore behold these things which Thou hast created; even because they Are; but they Are, even because thou seest them. And we look upon their outside, because they have a Being; and we discern their inside, that they are good in their Being;

ing; but Thou sawest them there already made, when
Thou sawest them there after to be made. And we
were not till after that time moved to do well, that
our heart had conceived the purpose of it by Thy
spirit: but before that time we were inclined to doe
evil, even when we sought thee: but Thou O sove-
raign God, one and good, didst never cease doing
good for us. And some certain works of ours there
be that be good: but it is by thy grace that they are
so, which yet are not of continuance sempiternal.
After them we trust to find repose in thy *great*
Sanctification. But Thou being the Good, standest in
need of no good: Thou art at rest alwayes, be-
cause Thy rest Thou Thy selfe. And what man
is he that can teach another man to understand
this? or what Angell, another Angell? or what An-
gel, a man: Let this mystery beget of Thee, be sought
at Thy hands, knockt for at Thy gate: so, so shall it
be received, so shall it be found, and so shall it be
opened, *Amen*.

a Upon this word trust or hope, the Popish Translator raises
this note: He hopeth to go to heaven like a Catholick: he ma-
keth not himself sure of it like a *Protestant*. Just like a Ca-
tholike indeed, that is, like a *Primitive Catholike*, for here is
no mention of Purgatory, which the papists cannot misse. A-
gain, no marvel if the Papists do but hope for Salvation: I
wonder they dare do so much, having so uncomfortable asse-
ligion. Sure, a Hope cannot be founded on these points; not
on their own Merits, Saints intercession. &c.

FINIS.

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in these Confessions: Which may
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